Genghis Khan

According to the Secret History of the Mongols

BERSERKER
BOOKS

ACCORDING TO THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

GENGIS KHAN

(CHINGIS KHAN)

FOREWORD

Numerous works have been written to date on the life and deeds of Genghis Khan (Chinggis Khan), one of the great conquerors, commanders and statesmen of world history.

The forthcoming work entitled Genghis Khan (Chinggis Khan) is one such work, though it is somewhat different in that the main section of this book has been prepared relying solely on *The Secret History of the Mongols* *( ), as mentioned in the Introduction, without drawing on other sources ; however, a historical summary has been added under* the heading 'The Turkic-Mongol Empire and Its Continuation' *for events occurring after 1240, when this source was written and completed. As our main subject is 'Genghis Khan', we begin with his legendary first ancestor, the 'Grey Wolf', and cover his entire genealogy, childhood, youth, and finally*

*Given that this source, *The* Secret History of the Mongols*, which recounts the reign, military and administrative activities, and campaigns of the ruler, was written in his own time and in his own language, it is clear that it constitutes the most accurate and truthful source regarding this hero's life.*

*The personality of Genghis (Chinggis), who united all Turkic tribes and lands (with few exceptions) within the Empire during the 13th–14th centuries, who was also well-versed in the Turkic language and was thus recognised as a Turkic ruler, has naturally captivated historians and writers, because he is also one of the great figures of world history . Unlike works written prior to the discovery of the source *The* Secret History of the Mongols* regarding his personality and activities, Temüjin's personality is now*

How do we see this in the work?

Here, he appears not as a deified figure, but as a simple human being. Innocent traits can be read in the face and movements of the child who is afraid of a dog or helps his widowed mother. However, it is also evident that he is a character who does not tolerate unjust actions. Later, when he became the ruler of the steppes, he believed the slanders and even sought to eliminate his loyal brother Kasar. Had his mother not intervened, he might well have had him killed too: for he had believed that his position was in danger and that his brother would become a rival to him.

If he was extremely meticulous in claiming his share of the spoils and looked down upon swindlers, we must interpret this as a matter of his concern for his sovereign right rather than mere greed, for his position grants him full authority over the spoils. We cannot infer from this work that he personally possessed a predatory nature. It is also known that he was afraid in the face of certain events. Apart from a childish fear of dogs, this work also mentions that he trembled in the presence of his fierce mother. After the execution of Teb-Tenggeri, he experienced dangerous and fearful moments in the tent.

At the same time, he proves his courage: whilst still a young lad, he sets off alone, riding the only remaining horse, to retrieve the plundered herd. Later on, he displays the same bravery on every battlefield. Finally, his willingness to risk his life without heeding the advice of the elders around him, and his decision to go to war against the Tanguts despite his serious illness, also demonstrate his toughness and the confidence he has in himself.

In Genghis Khan, the feeling of gratitude towards his loyal friends is as strong as his sense of vengeance. The most important of these are: Jurchedai, commander of the main forces, and Kuyildar; Bo'orçu, Mukali, Baroku!, and Çila'un-Ba'atur, known as the 'Four Heroes'; and Kubilay, known as the 'Four Dogs',

Celme, Cebe and Sübe'etey; Genghis Khan expressed his gratitude by frequently praising them openly, rewarding them with titles, pastureland, booty, hunting rights and men, and granting them immunity from the law.

He sought loyalty to the sovereign—referred to as the 'Tus Khan'*—even from his enemies: he had those who betrayed their rulers and sought refuge with him executed.*

It is evident that Genghis Khan regarded himself as the vicegerent of heaven and, in accordance with Shamanist thought, recognised heaven as the ruler of destiny. He has become the ruler of the world by the command of heaven and holds the golden reins in his hand.

*My late mentor, Professor Dr Erich Haenisch, who pioneered research into *The Secret History of the Mongols*, concludes the *Foreword* he wrote for the German translation of the work as follows* (1941, *pp. XXVI–XXVII):*

'We must seek the secret of this mighty man's successes in the following three things: Firstly, his unparalleled military prowess and majesty, vividly depicted in the scene where, particularly after Camuka's departure, the tribes came one by one to submit to him. Secondly, the trust he placed in those around him, such that they could approach Genghis directly with their requests regarding service. The third is his belief that he was the vicegerent of heaven. The fact that these qualities are not specifically mentioned in the work before us, and that Genghis is not praised, demonstrates the work's authenticity and further elevates his stature.

Prof. Dr. Ahmet TEMİR

CONTENTS

FOREWORD v

INTRODUCTION: Historical sources relating to the Turkic-Mongol period sources and «The Secret History of the Mongols » 1

ACCORDING TO «THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS» (CHINGIS KHAN)

I. The First Chapter: The Birth of Temüjin and His Childhood youth..... 13

II. Temüjin's youth. Captured by the Taychi'uts . Kereyit To'oril (Tuğrul) and friendship..... 21

III. A tripartite alliance between Tuğrul, Camuka and Temücin against the Merkits. The defeat and fragmentation of the Merkits. The rescue of Börte . Temücin's election as Khan under the title of 'Genghis Khan' 27

IV. Camuka's election as 'Gür Han' by his own kinsmen. Tuğrul and Genghis Khan's alliance against Camu- against Camuka..... 34

V. Genghis Khan's successful campaigns against the Taychi'ut and the Tatars. Genghis Khan and Tuğrul's joint victory over the Naymans . Tuğrul's abandonment of Genghis and joining forces with Camuka 39

IX

VI. Genghis Khan's victory in the Battle of Kalakalcit against the Kereyits under the command of Tuğrul and Camuka. Negotiations between Genghis Khan and Tuğrul, Camuka and Senggüm
. The end of the Kereyits 47

VII. The deaths of Tuğrul and Senggüm. The subjugation of the Naymans and Merkits 54

VIII. The end of Camuka. Temüjin's proclamation as the Great Khan ( ). The organisation of military and administrative affairs . . . 64

IX. The organisation of military and administrative affairs organisation. Expansion of the guard units 73

X. The organisation of guard and service duties . The voluntary submission of the Kar-luk and Uyghurs. Eastern and western campaigns. The murder 78

XI. The invasion of Northern China . Y.edi -year major western campaign. The conquest of Turkestan and Russia. 87

XII. The death of Genghis Khan. The election of Ögödei. The continuation of the western campaign. The elimination of the Kin state. The expansion of the military and administrative organisation 99

THE TURKISH-MONGOL EMPIRE , AND BEYOND 112

— Great Khans 115

1) Kublai and the Yuan Dynasty in China 118

2) The Chagatai Dynasty and Turkestan 119

3) Hulagu and the Ilkhanids 120

4) Coçi and the Golden Horde 122

— Social and military organisation during the Turkic-Mongol Empire 126

— Detailed information on the most important tribes and their leaders explanation 135

— Genealogy 40

— Chronology 141

— Bibliography 144

Maps: The Mongols' Homeland 148

Asia during the reign of Genghis Khan 149

Example from the Chinese 150

edition INDEX 151

INTRODUCTION

HISTORICAL SOURCES RELATING TO THE TURKISH-MONGOL PERIOD AND 'THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS'

1. Works written in Europe, the Islamic world, China and in the Mongolian language on Mongol history.

The sudden emergence of the Great Turkic-Mongol or Genghis (Chinggis) Empire in the 13th century, and its possession of an unparalleled capacity for expansion, has long been a subject of interest to many historians. For a long time, European scholars researching this period could only draw upon works written in languages other than Mongolian; some of these were penned by European merchants or missionary travellers such as Plano Carpini, Wilhelm von Rubruck and Marco Polo, whilst others were authored by Islamic historians such as Ibn al-Athir, al-Nesevi, al-Juwayni, al-Wassaf, Rashid al-Din, Isfizari and others; and some were books written in Chinese, such as the Yuan-shih (History of the Yuan Dynasty), the Sheng-wu chin-ch'ien-lu (The Sacred Cook's Personal Campaigns), and others, as well as works written in Armenian.

Before turning to the Mongolian historical sources relating to the Mongol period, let us briefly consider the issue of written records in the Mongolian language: we begin to encounter written documents in the Mongolian language in the first half of the 13th century. Although the 13th century is not particularly rich in material, it has gained great significance with the discovery of The Secret History of the Mongols.

It was previously thought that the works from the three- to four-century period spanning from that time until the 17th century—when Buddhist literature dominated—consisted solely of edicts, inscriptions and letters. Now

It has been established that, even during the 'dark' period of their history—that is, the time spanning from the fall of the Yuan dynasty to the 'renewal' period that began in the latter half of the 16th century—the Mongols were able to preserve a great many of their cultural artefacts; it is well known that literature and writing did not cease among the Mongols, and the literary traditions of the Yuan dynasty continued. The fact that Europeans refer to this period of the Mongol written language as a 'gap' is likely not because no works were produced during this period, but rather because these works were unknown in Europe .

Sources of historical literature among the Mongols: 1. Original epic works, 2. Chinese historians' influence under which were produced,
3. which exhibits Manchu influence and 4. which was translated from Tibetan into Mongolian
stems from the fact that these works were not recognised in Europe.

The most important of the ancient works written in the epic style is *The Secret History of the Mongols*, which we have begun to discuss. As can be gathered from records in certain works, during the time of Genghis Khan, laws and regulations known as *casak* (prohibitions, laws) were also established among the Mongols. For example, The Secret History of the Mongols states: 'Matters concerning the division of the people and court rulings shall be recorded and bound in the Kökö Debter (Blue Book). The principles established by Şigi-Kutuku, following consultation with me, written in blue ink on white paper and recorded in a register, shall be passed down from generation to generation; let no one alter them, and let those who attempt to do so be punished. Execute those deserving of the death penalty, and collect fines from those deemed worthy of a fine!" (Chapter VIII, § 203).

However, these casaks have not survived to the present day, or have not yet been found in their complete form. Furthermore, Genghis Khan's bilig (maxims, words of wisdom) were also written down in his own time, and these have come down to us in the works of various authors and in some Mongolian texts. In addition, as historical sources, we may also mention the various inscriptions, edicts and decrees that came into being in the 13th century and thereafter.

Among the historical sources from later periods, the anonymous work Altan Tabçi and the book Hat-un ün-düsün-ü erdeni-yin tobçiya (A Collection of Gems on the Origin of the Khans), written in 1662 by the Ordos prince Sanang-setsen Hung-tayci, occupy the foremost place. Sanang-setsen drew not only on the epic traditions circulating among the people, but also on written works, most of which have not survived to the present day.

We shall not go into detail here regarding the historical works produced during the period spanning the 17th to the 20th centuries—which we might term the 'New Classical Period' of the Mongol written language—whether they were written in the original Mongolian or translated from Tibetan and Chinese. Valuable information on this subject can be found in the works of various historians and philologists.

2. 'The Secret History of the Mongols' and its manuscripts.

Among all the works mentioned, the twelve-chapter Mongolian text *The Secret History of the Mongols* holds a special place. This book contains the earliest accounts of the Mongols, ranging from their legendary origins to the time of Ögödei. The author of the work is unknown. However, the 'Colophon' at the very end states: 'It was written and completed whilst the Great Kurultai was in session, in the seventh month of the Year of the Rat, on the island of Köde on the Kelüren River, between the localities of Dolo'an-Boldak and Şilginçek, whilst the palace was being erected' (§ 282), it is understood that the work was completed in 1240. Thus, this work predates the Yuan-shih, the official Chinese history of the Mongol era, by 130 years, and the Mongolian-language historical works written in the 17th and 18th centuries by 300–400 years. There is no doubt that many of the events in the work were witnessed and recorded at the time. The presence of superfluous repetitions in some places and the obscurity of certain events suggest that the author did not subject the work to a final review; however, this does not diminish the historical value of the book, but rather enhances it.

The original text, believed to have been written in Uyghur script, has not yet been found in its entirety. The manuscripts forming the basis of research are those written in Chinese characters. The work consists of the following three parts:

1. The Mongolian text transcribed in Chinese characters (Manghol-un Niuça Tohça'an = MNT),

2. A word-for-word interlinear Chinese translation of the Mongolian text (Interlinear version = Int),

3. A summary translation in Classical Chinese at the end of each section (Yüan-cha'o pi-shi = YP).

It appears that this work, published with Chinese characters, has two titles: one in Chinese and the other in Mongolian. The Chinese title is Yüan-cha'o pi-shi (yüan-çao bi-şı), meaning 'The Secret History of the Yuan Dynasty'. However, as this title refers only to the Chinese summary translation (YP), it would be quite incorrect to refer to the entire book as Yüan-cha'o pi-shi. E. Haenisch has interpreted the term pi-shi in this title as 'unofficial history' in order to differentiate it from the 'official histories' of the Chinese dynasties.

The Mongolian name Mang,hol-un Niuça Tobça'an (or Monggol-un niguça tobçiyan) has been subject to various interpretations. This term, written in Chinese characters as mang huo lun niu ch'a t'o ch'a an, was mistaken by Chinese historians for the author's name. However, first the Japanese historian Naka and later the French sinologist P. Pelliot identified it as a Mongolian title. The word niuça (niguça in written form) means 'secret'; however, according to Haenisch's view, it was designated for the imperial family and the government, and since it was not permitted to be read by others, it was termed 'secret' (confidential). The word 'tobça'an' has been translated as 'history' in the Int, and it is likely derived from the same root as 'tohçi'—a term frequently used in the titles of Mongolian works, meaning 'button, collection, summary, or story'.

As things stand, the most widely known copy of this work in the European academic world is the one printed in 1908 by the Chinese bookseller Ye Teh-hui, based on an ancient manuscript. This copy was first introduced to European academic circles in 1920 through a note by the French sinologist P. Pelliot in the *Journal Asiatique*, and was brought to German libraries from China by E. Haenisch in 1928.

In addition to this, there are some seven or eight other copies of this work, either printed in Chinese characters or in manuscript form, and traces of it are also found in certain Chinese historical sources, suggesting that it was used as a reference by Chinese historians. Without going into detail about all these copies, we shall content ourselves with briefly mentioning the traces of The Secret History of the Mongols in Mongol literature, as well as its traces in Islamic and Turkic literature.

This work was undoubtedly used as a source for the composition of many subsequent Mongolian books and exerted a greater or lesser influence on them. Among these, the work that comes closest to the 'Secret History of the Mongols'
. Several copies of this work exist, one of which was published by the Russian Mongolist S. Kozin, who published it in comparison with The Secret History of the Mongols; it was thus established that 233 out of 282 sections of The Secret History of the Mongols (§§ 1–176 and §§ 208–265), that is, 83 per cent, correspond to Altan Tobçi.

Some of the Islamic historians mentioned above have made use of Mongolian sources. However, we have no clear information as to whether they used The Secret History of the Mongols. For example, it has not been clarified whether the Altan Deb. ter mentioned by Rashid al-Din is the same as that in The Secret History of the Mongols.

Traces of this work can also be found in the epic Turkish literature that emerged after the 13th century. The most significant of these, identified to date, is the work entitled Çengizname, which is also mentioned in Ebul-Gazi Bahadır Khan's Şecere-i Türki. Today, there are several printed and manuscript copies of this book

, and research on it has been summarised collectively. The author of the work is unknown. ‘The source of the legend is the * *, an ancient Turkish written work unaffected by Islamic influence.’ The motifs in many places are reminiscent of *The Secret History of the Mongols*.

3. The treatment of *The Secret History of the Mongols*.

The first European to engage with this work was the Russian sinologist Palladius (or: Peter Ivanovich Kafarov-Palladiy). He first came across the YP section, which consisted solely of a Chinese summary of this work, and translated it into Russian in 1866 [1]. Subsequently, Palladius discovered another manuscript containing all sections of the work and produced a transcription of the Mongolian text in 1872. However, as he died before completing the work he had begun, and there was no one to continue it, his transcription was abandoned and the work remained unknown in Europe for a long time.

A. In 1882, Pozdneyev, relying on Palladius’s translation and transcription,

, but was unable to complete it.

The copy brought to Japan by Naito in 1899 was translated and published by Naka in 1907. Like Palladius, Naka translated only the YP section, but did not publish the Mongolian text. However, he correctly deciphered the phrases on the cover, which had previously been identified by Chinese scholars as the work’s authorship, and demonstrated that this was the work’s Mongolian title.

As for the work’s adventures in China: after the fall of the Yuan dynasty, it survived by taking on a Chinese form and was printed in the 14th century. A 45-page fragment of this is held in the National Museum of Beijing. The YP section of the work in China

(1) Palladiy Kafarov, Starinnoye mongol’skoye skazanie o Çingishane, Trudi Chl. Russk. Duh. Miss. v. Pekine IV, SPB 1866, pp. 3–258.

was first published without commentary in 1847 and then with commentary by Li Wen-t'ien in 1903. Subsequently, Ye Teh-hui published this Secret History in 1908, incorporating the MNT, Int and YP sections.

This work, which had been forgotten in Europe for a long time after Palladius, was introduced for the second time following this new edition through P. Pelliot's article in the *Journal Asiatique* [2]. Pelliot had also addressed this subject in numerous other articles and had announced that he himself would publish The Secret History of the Mongols [3]. However, his work on this subject was only published posthumously in 1949 by L. Hambis [4].

In addition to these, scholars such as W. Barthold, E. Blochet, B. Laufer, W. Kotwicz, B. Vladimirtsov, N. Poppe, A. Mostaert and others have also taken a keen interest in this work.

(2) A propos des Comans, Journal Asiatique, 11th series, XV, 1920, p. 125–185, see in particular p p . 131–132.

C3l The Mongol title of the Yuan tch'ao pi ehe, T'oung Pao, 2nd series XIV, 1913, pp. 131–132, /An altered passage in the ancient Mongol text of the *Secret History of the Mongols* TP XXVII 1930, pp. 199–202, / Review: E. Haenisch, Untersuchungen über das Yüan-chcao pi-shi... Leipzig 1931, TP XXVIII, 1931, pp. 156–157, /Two lacunae in the modern Mongolian text of the Secret History of the Mongols, Melanges Asiatiques, CCXXII, pp. 1–18./Review: E. Haenisch, Manghoı un niuca tobca'an (Yüan-chcao pi-shi, the Secret History of the Mongols... Leipzig 1935, TP XXXII, 1936, pp. 355–359,/Chirolga-Chiralga, TP XXXVII, 1944, pp. 102–114, etc. Here, P. Pelliot's

However, several of his articles directly relating to *The Secret History of the Mongols* have been cited . The titles of his [illegible]n Mongolistics, Turkology and [illegible]

can be found collectively in the following work: Paul Pelliot, published by the Société Asiatique, Paris 1946. In particular. see: J. Deny, *Paul Pelliot et les études altaïques*, pp. 54–68; L. Hambis, *Paul Pelliot et les études mongoles*, pp. 69–77.

C4J Posthumous Works of Paul Pelliot 1: The Secret History of the Mongols. Reconstruction of the Mongolian text and French translation of the cha-
Vol. I–VI. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Adrien Maissonneuve, 1949, IV + 196 pp.

As a result of all this research, the History of the Mongols was finally published between 1935 and 1949 in Germany (E. Haenisch). Japan (K. Shiratori), Mongolia (Bugegeşik, Altanvaçir, Kesikbatu), Russia (S. Kozin) and France (P. Pelliot). The most important and earliest of these is the work of the German sinologist and Mongolist Professor Dr Erich Haenisch, and it is clear that all other studies were conducted based on his transcription. For this reason, rather than examining all the studies on this work individually, we shall confine ourselves to introducing E. Haenisch's works, bearing in mind that this was a pioneering, bold and monumental study in its field.

E. Haenisch brought Ye Teh-hui's copy of this work to Germany in 1928 and began his research on the text. As he did not wish to keep his work under wraps, but believed that he could come closer to the correct path through the criticism of his colleagues

, he first published a special study on the subject in 1931 [5] and subsequently addressed topics related to this work in numerous articles [6]• Finally, E. Haenisdh, first in 1935 and then in 1937, transcribed the Mongolian text from Chinese into Latin script,

---

(5) Untersuchungen über das Yüan-chcao pi-shi, Alhandlungen der Saxon Academy of Sciences, Historical-Philosophical Class, Vol. XLI, No. IV, Leipzig 1931. Review by P. Pelliot: T'oung Pao, Series 2, Vol. XXVIII, 1931, pp. 156–157.

(6) The Last Campaigns of Genghis Khan and His Death According to East Asian Tradition, Asia Major IX, 1933, pp. 503–551; P. Pellio's critique: T'oung Pao, XXXI, 1934, pp. 157–167; Miscellany: MOS, 1933, p. 148 and / The 'Hunting' section in the Glossary, Asia Major X, 1934, pp. 66–67, /Mongolian 'horohhu, to snatch away'—to run off with something in one's mouth, Asia Major X, 1934, pp. 140–141, /Remarks on the textual reconstruction of the Manghol-un Niuca Tobca'an CYüan-chcao pi-shil, ZDMG, Vol. 92, 1938, pp. 244–254,/The Secret History of the Mongols, Research and Progress, Vol. 15, 1939, Nos. 32–33.

transcription (MNT) 7, 1939, in a separate volume, a Mongolian-Chinese-German dictionary of all the words appearing in the work[8], and in 1941, the complete German translation of the work[9].

In the preface he wrote for the first volume, published in 1935, E. Haenisch states that he based his transcription solely on the Ye Teh-hui manuscript; however, he subsequently had the opportunity to compare his work with other manuscripts of the text and included the differences between them in a separate list in the second edition, published in 1937. As E. Haenisch considered research into medieval Chinese dialects to be insufficient, when transcribing the Mongolian text from Chinese characters into the Latin script, he took the modern Northern Chinese dialect as his basis. For the time being, he has not attempted to adapt the Mongolian text to its present form; indeed, he has not even taken phonetic harmony into account, but has presented the text to the academic world exactly as it should be read according to the pronunciation of the Chinese characters. His aim,

---

(7) Manghol un niuca tobca'an, (Yüan-chcao pi-shi, the secret of the ' History of the Mongols, reconstructed from the Chinese transcription into the Mongolian text, Leipzig, Asia Major, 1935, in-8, XII+124, pp. 1 ff. This transcription by E. Haenisch, based solely on the Y. manuscript ( ), has been subjected to severe criticism by many scholars, particularly P. Pelliot ( ), and i n particular P. Pelliot's severe criticism; cf.: P. Pelliot. T'oung Pao. vol. XXXII, 1936, pp. 355–359; S. Kozin, Sokrovennoye skazanie, 1941, p. 11, <For further criticism, see the notes below. Manghol's niuca tobca'an... (as above), Leipzig, O. Harrassowitz, 1937, XII + 140 pp., 1 f. / Review: G. L. M. Clauson, JRAS Vol. IV, October 1938, pp. 571–572.

(8) Wörterbuch zu Manghol un niaca tobca'an... Leipzig 1939, O. Harrassowitz, VII+191 pp./Text and dictionary review: K. Groenbech, ZDMG, Vol. 94, 1940, pp. 431–435,/Göedeş, Befeo, 1937–38.

(9) The Secret History of the Mongols, from a Mongolian manuscript of the year 1240 by of the Insel Kode'e in Keluren- Translated and annotated for the first time... Leipzig 1941, XXXII+210 pp./Critique of the text, glossary and translation: A. v. Gabain, Historische Zeitschrift, Vol. 165, pp. 591–595.

was not so much to claim to have brought the research to its final peak, but rather to lay the groundwork for more advanced studies. Undoubtedly, as research and investigations progressed, the work would also develop phonetically and eventually take on a definitive form.

As for E. Haenisch's Mongolian–Chinese–German dictionary: When translating Mongolian words, he primarily used the Chinese translation in the margin (Int) as a basis; if the Mongolian word had no translation in Int, he determined its meaning by consulting the Chinese summary translation (YP); and if the equivalent was not found there either, he translated it according to the context of the sentence or based on dictionaries, placing it alongside the entries in
He has included the '?' symbol. In this volume, too, E. Haenisch has, for the time being, refrained from providing explanations regarding etymology, grammar and syntax, contenting himself with indicating the meanings of the words.

E. Haenisch finally published the translation in 1941, thereby presenting the work in its entirety. Here too, the author did not concern himself with transcription issues, but translated the work whilst remaining as faithful to the text as possible, and refrained from making literary embellishments in the process. Numerous valuable notes that shed light on the translation, along with lists of the mountain, river, lake, place, city, personal and ethnic names mentioned in the work, have been appended to the end of the

As E. Haenisch points out, although the text of the work was recognised in Russia in 1878, in Japan in 1907, in Mongolia and China in 1908, in France in 1908, and in Germany as late as 1929, the transcription was first published in Germany in 1935 (1937). In this way, E. Haenisch's work paved the way for other scholars' studies on this subject. In an article dated 1944, E. Haenisch states (10):

'The main issue was its publication. Thus, the intended purpose of my work has been achieved: The ice has been broken, Yuan-ch'ao

(10) The State of Yuan-chao pi-shi Research = ZDMG, 1944, Vol. 98 CN. F. 23), pp. 119–120.

Research into pi-shi has begun and is now ready to proceed. Mongolists, sinologists, philologists, phoneticians, historians and ethnographers are all invited to collaborate. 'Whatever flag the ship flies, the outcome is ultimately the same. If a name must be given, it would be most appropriate to call it Pa Ye/Palladius Ye Teh-hui.'

Erich Haenisch, whilst expressing his respect for his nation and state by noting that the text was first published in Germany, shows humility by not mentioning his own name. It now falls to us to fulfil this task: in our view, the ship's name should be '4', with the names of Paul Pelliot and Erich Haenisch added, but Haenisch's name should form the final element:

Pa Ye Pe H Palladius Ye Teh-hui Pelliot Haenisch

4. The recognition of The Hidden History of the Mongols in Turkey and its translation into Turkish.

A short introductory article by E. Haenisdh, providing information on this work—which is also known to Turkish historians and linguists—was published in the Türkiyat Mecmuası in 1942. [12] Subsequently, Prof. Abdülkadir İnan provided information on the research conducted in Russia in an article published in the Bulletin of the Turkish Historical Society, based on S. Kozin's translation [13]. Finally, Prof. Dr. Akdes Nimet Kurat published an article in the Journal of the Faculty of Language, History and Geography on E. Haenisch

---

See also Prof. Fuat Köprülü, History of Turkish Literature, Istanbul 1928, pp. 263, 278.

C12l The Secret History of the Mongols, the text published by Haenisch and a description of the manuscript, Türkiyat Journal, VII–VIII, Istanbul 1942, pp. 349–351.

Cl3l The Secret History of the Mongols, S. A. Kozin, Sokrovennoye Skazanie, CYüan-çao bi-shi, vol. 1, Moscow-Leningrad, 1941, p. 619. Bulletin of the Turkish Historical Society, Nos. 21–22, Ankara, 1942, pp. 121–126.

and by writing an extensive critique of S. Kozin's publications, he has shed further light on the matter and, in doing so, highlighted the importance of this work and the Mongolian language for the Turkic-Mongol period

In late 1943, the Turkish Historical Society entrusted us with the task of translating *The Secret History of the Mongols* into Turkish; the work was completed within five years and published in 1948. [15] In translating the work into Turkish, we did not rely solely on the German translation, but opted for a comparative translation approach based on the resources available to us: During this work, the transcription by E. Haenisch, the Mongolian-Chinese-German dictionary and the German translation were taken as the primary sources, and Haenisch's works were compared with S. Kozin's transcription, the Mongolian-Russian dictionary, the Russian translation and Ye Teh-hui's Chinese version. During the translation, every effort was made to remain faithful to the Mongolian text, and the poetic sections were arranged according to Kozin and translated line by line.

Ahmet TEMİR

1 December 1988, Ankara

C14) Yuan-chao pi-shi, or Yüarı-çao bi-shi (The Secret History of the Mongols, Journal of the Faculty of Language, History and Geography, vol. II, no. 3, Ankara, 1944, pp. 469–474.

(15) The Secret History of the Mongols, Manghol-un niuça tobça'an CYüan-ch'ao pi-shil, (written in 1240), 1 translation. Ahmet Temir, who compared Prof. E. Haenisch's German and S. Kozin's Russian translations with the Mongolian original and translated them into our language, Ankara, Turkish Historical Society 1948,
Series II, No. 13, 111+300 pp.

‘THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS’
ACCORDING TO GENGIS KHAN
(CHINGIS KHAN)

1

EARLY HISTORY, TEMÜCİN’S BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD
(§ 1–68)

‘Genghis Khan’s ancestor, created by the will of the High God, was a grey wolf, and his mate was a white roe deer. The Sea of

---

{16) The Mongolian form of Genghis Khan’s childhood name is Temüjin, and it is thought to mean ‘blacksmith’ or ‘smith’. In Turkish, it is also used as a personal name and surname in various forms such as Temiçin, Temuçin, Timoçin, Timuçin

as b o t h a first name and a surname.

U7) According to this work, the Mongolian form of the title ‘Cengiz’ (Çinggiz), bestowed upon Temüjin upon his accession to the throne, is ‘Çinggis’; that is, the first letter must be ‘Ç’. In the sounds of words borrowed from Mongolian into Turkish,

-S>-Z rule , in Turkish has become with a -Z ending. This word is generally used in Turkish, presumably under the influence of Persian,

‘Cengiz’.

In Turkish dialects, this word is used in various forms such as Çinggiz, Çınggız, Çingiz, Çıngız, Cengiz

, and many attempts have been made to explain the origin, meaning and history of this word

have been the subject of numerous studies, both in terms of folk etymology and scientific explanations; however, no definitive conclusion has yet been reached . Scientific research as a whole

P. Pelliot, G. J. Ramstedt, W. Kotwicz, W. Barthold, L. Ligeti, B.

Vladimirtsov, E. Haenisch, Osman Turan, etc., are worth mentioning. Without delving into the details of these studies, we shall content ourselves with merely touching upon the views of the last two researchers: :

E. Haenisch, unlike other researchers, explains the term ‘Çinggis’ using the Chinese term ‘cheng’ (legitimate, lawful) (CWörterbuch 1939, p. 28). Having reviewed all other researchers—

they arrived. When they settled at the source of the Onan River, near Mount Burkan Kaldun, they had a son named Bataçi Han."

The Mongolian source entitled *The Secret History of the Mongols* begins with these very sentences. Thereafter, the work lists the descendants of Baitaçi Khan one by one, naming 20 individuals up to Temüjin's father, Yesügey Bahadır, as follows: Bataçi-Khan's son Tamaça, his son Koriçar-Mergen, his son A'ucan-Boroul, his Sali-Kaça'u, his son Yeke-Nidün, his son Sem-Soçi, his son Karçu, his son Borcigiday-Mergen, his son Torokolcin-Bayan, his son Dobun-Mergen, his wife Alan-Ko'a's son Bodonçar-Mungkak, born as a result of a supernatural event , his son Kaibiçi-Ba-hadır, his son Menen-Tudun, his son Kaçi-Külük, his son Kaydu, his son Bay-Şingkor-Dokşin, his son Tum'.bi-nay-Seçen, his son Kabul-Kağan, his son Bartan-Bahadır, his son Yesügey-Bahadır, his son Temücin (Genghis-Kağan = Genghis Khan).

However, Haenisch's works published in 1935, 1939 and 1941
The Secret History of the Mongols, published in 1935, 1939 and 1941,
Turan, in his article 'On the Name Genghis' (<Belleten V, 1941,
pp. 267–276), attempted to link this term to the word 'Deniz', but failed to reach a convincing conclusion.

(18) It is clearly evident that the accounts concerning Genghis Khan's origins and his first ancestor
converge with the 'wolf' motif in the Turkish Ergenekon epic. The various motifs of the Ergenekon legend date back to very ancient times—
has lived amongst the Altaic peoples since time immemorial. It is possible to find examples of this from the Hunnic and Göktürk periods in Chinese sources
. Whilst the central motif of these legends involves a male child, having survived a massacre, being carried off and nursed by a female wolf, the CTürk Encyclopaedia, XV, 1968, pp. 299–301: 'The Ergenekon legend—
), whereas in *The Secret History of the Mongols* there is mention of a male *Boz Kurt* (Grey Wolf), which differs slightly from this.

(19) The term 'sea' here refers to Lake Baikal
Lake. Otherwise, the ancient Mongols had no connection whatsoever with the 'Ocean'.

We shall focus on just a few of these names—many of which are drawn from the folk tales, epics and legends circulating amongst the people—to provide brief explanations and attempt to demonstrate the role they played in the formation of Mongolian clan, tribe and ethnic group names:

Dobun-Mergen's elder brother, Duva-Sokor, had four sons. As they went about their lives, their elder brother Duva-Sokor died. After Duva-Sokor's death, his four sons looked down upon their uncle Dobun-Mergen, refused to regard him as kin, and set off on their own. From these four migrating tribes, four clans were thus formed, and the Dörben (four) people came into being.

Dobun-Mergen, who married Alan-Ko'a, had two sons named Bügünötey and Bel-günötey. After Dobun-Mergen's death, Alan-Ko'a, though widowed, bore three sons. Their names were Buku-Kadagi, Bukatu-Salci and Bodonçar-Mungkak.

Belgünötey was the ancestor of the Belgünöt people. Bügünötey was the ancestor of the Bü-günöt people. Buku-Katagi was the ancestor of the Katagin people. Bukatu Saki was the ancestor of the Salci'ut people. The Borci-gin people descended from Bodonçar.

When Alan-Ko'a gave birth to a child after her husband's death, causing gossip in the neighbourhood, the woman gathered her five children around her and explained the incident as follows:

My sons Belgünötey and Bügünötey! You have spread rumours against me, suspecting your mother regarding these three children. You are right to be suspicious. However, every night a fair-haired man would enter through the light seeping from the chimney, caress my belly, and his light would pass into my body. As he left, he would crawl out like a yellow dog, gliding over the light of the sun or the moon. How can you speak without thinking? If one reflects on this incident, it becomes clear that they are the sons of God. Kar.

How can you speak like this by comparing your brothers to those common, black-headed people? When they become the Lord of all mankind, the common people will understand the truth.

Thereafter, Alan-Ko'a advised his five sons, saying: 'You were all born from my single body. If you act separately, you will be easily broken by anyone, just like those five arrows. But if you remain united, like five arrows bound together, who could harm you?' Some time later, Alan-Ko'a died.

When Temüjin's genealogy is traced back from his grandfather Bartan-Bahadır, Bodonçar-Mungkak—the youngest of the three children born of Alan-Ko'a through supernatural means—emerges as his nineteenth ancestor.

Bodonçar-Mungkak had been married several times; his first wife was a pregnant woman from the Uriangkay tribe of the Carçi'ut Adangkan people, who had been captured during a battle. As the child born was of a foreign (cat, yat) origin, they named him Cadaraday, and he became the ancestor of the Cadaran clan. Cadaraday's son was Tügü'üdey, his son was Büri-Bulçiru, his son was Kara-Kada'an, and his son was Camuka. Camuka was initially a friend of Temüjin, being his childhood companion and blood brother. However, this man, who later became a rival and fought against him before being eliminated, was one of the figures who would play a significant role in the establishment of the empire within the trio of 'Temüjin, Tuğrul, Camuka'.

Temüjin's lineage, however, is traced back to Barin-Şiyilatu-Kabiçi—known as Kabiçi·Bahadır—who was the son of Bodonçar-Mungkak's first wife. Next comes his son Menen-Tudun, followed by Kaçi Külüğ, the eldest of Menen-Tudun's seven sons, and his son Kaydu.

From Kaydu and his sons onwards, Mongol history becomes considerably clearer, and more detailed information regarding the tribes and their leaders is provided in The Secret History of the Mongols.

Kaydu had three sons: Bay-Şingkor-Dokşin, Çarakay-Lingku and Çaocin-Örtegey. Bay-Şingkor-Dokşin's son was named Tumbinay-Seçen. The Tayçi'ut lineage descended from Senggün-Bilge, the son of Çarakay-Lingku, and his son Ambakay. Çarakay-Lingku's wife gave birth to a son named Besütey. The Besüt lineage descended from him. Çaocin-Örtegey's sons founded the lineages of Oronar, Kongkotan, Arulat, Sünit, Kabturkas and Geniges.

Tumbinay-Seçen had two sons named Kabul-Kağan and Sem-Seçüle. Sem-Seçüle's son was Bülteçü•Bahadır. Kabul-Kağan had seven sons; the eldest was Ökin-Barkak, and the others were named Bartan-Bahadır, Kutuktu-Münggür, Kutula-Kağan, Kulan, Ka-da'an and Tödöyen-Otçigin.

Ökin-Barkak's son was Kutuktu-Yürki. Kutuktu-Yürki had two sons named Seçe-Beki and Tayçu. From these, the Yürki lineage was formed.

Bartan-Bahadır had four sons: Menggeıtü-Kiyan, Nekün-Tayzı, Yesügey-Bahadır and Daritay-Otçigin. Kutuktu-Münggür's son was Büri-Bökö. It was he who wounded Belgütey in the shoulder at the gathering held in the Onan forest.

Kutula-Khan had three sons, whose names were Coçi, Girma'u and Altan. Kulan-Bahadır's son was Yeke-Çeren. It was he who later became the Darhan and the lord of Kışılık. Ka-da'an and Tödöyen had no descendants.

Kabul-Khan ruled over all the Mongols. After his death, although he had seven sons of his own, relying on his will, Ambakay-Khan, the son of Senggün-Bilge, took all the Mongols under his own rule.

Ambakay-Khan had given his daughter in marriage to the Tatar clans of Ayri'ut and Buyru'ut, and friendly relations had begun between the Mongols and the Tatars. However, whilst taking his daughter to the wedding, a group from the Cuyin people among the Tatars seized Ambakay

and handed him over to Altan-Khan, the leader of the Kitan, and subsequently caused his death. Thus, Mongol-Tatar relations were irreparably severed, and the conflicts between them continued until the Tatars were defeated and scattered by Genghis Khan in the Battle of Dalan-Nemürges in 1202

Following the capture of Ambakay-Khan, all the Mongol and Taychiut peoples gathered along the Onon River and elected Kutula, the middle son of Kabul-Khan, as their khan. Before long, they went to war with the Tatars. However, despite engaging in several battles, they were unable to secure a decisive victory and failed to avenge Ambakay.

Around this time, Bartan-Bahadır's third son, Yesügey-Bahadır, had grown into a strong young man, though he had not yet married. One day, whilst hunting with his hound along the banks of the Onan River, he came across a man named Yeke-Çiledü from the Merkit tribe, who was abducting a girl from the Olkuno'ut clan. Yesügey-Bahadır, who saw the girl in the cart and took a great liking to her, kidnapped her with the help of his two brothers. Genghis Khan's mother, Hö'elün-Ücin, was none other than this very woman.

Because of this raid, relations between the Mongols and the Merkits (as with the Tatars) were irreparably severed. Around this time, whilst Yesügey-Bahadır was bringing Temücin-Üge, Kori-Buka and others back as captives from the Tatars, Hö'elün-Ücin was pregnant. Whilst they were residing at Deli'ün-Boldak by the Onon River, Genghis Khan was born. At his birth, he held a clot of blood the size of a finger bone in his right hand. As he was born at the time Temüjin-Üge was brought from the Tatars, he was thus given the name 'Temüjin'.

Yesügey-Bahadır had four sons—Temücin, Kasar, Kaçi'un and Temüge—and a daughter named Temülün by Hö'elün-Ücin. When Temücin was nine years old, Coçi-Kasar was seven. Kaçi'un-Elçi was five, and Temüge-Otçigin was three. Temülün was still in her cradle.

When Temücin was still nine years old, Yesügey-Bahadır set out with him to ask for a bride from his mother's relatives, the Olkuno'ut, that is, his own uncles. Whilst travelling, they encountered Dey-Seçen of the Unggirat between the Çekçer and Çikurgu mountains.

When Dey-Seçen asked, 'My brother-in-law Yesügey, where are you going?', Yesügey-Bahadır replied, 'I am going to ask for a bride from the Olkuno'u tribe for my son.'

After an exchange of verse between Dey-Seçen—who began by saying, 'Your son's eyes are fiery, his face radiant!'—and Yesügey-Bahadır, Dey-Seçen said:

'Our sons guard the
highlands, our daughters draw
the gaze with their beauty!'

and, leading them to his home, showed them to their seats.

When Yesügey looked at his daughter, he saw that her face was radiant and her eyes were fiery, and he took an immediate liking to her. This girl was a year older than Temücin; she was ten years old and her name was Börte. After spending the night there, Yesügey asked for the girl's hand. Dey-Seçen said: 'If I give her after much pleading, her worth will be high; if I give her after little pleading, her worth will be low. A girl's destiny is not to grow old in the house where she was born. I shall give you my daughter. As you leave, leave your son here as my son-in-law!' After reaching an agreement, Yesügey-Bahadır replied: 'I shall leave my son here as a son-in-law. My son is afraid of dogs. Brother-in-law, protect my son from the dogs!' He left his spare horse as a pledge and Temü-cin as a son-in-law, and set off on his journey.

On the road, Yesügey-Bahadır came across the Tatar people who had gathered in the Sarı Boz-kır in the land of the Çekçer. As he was thirsty, he dismounted and went to the gathering place. These Tatars recognised him and spread the news: 'Yesügey of the Kiyan tribe has arrived!' In the past

, they decided to kill him secretly and poisoned him by mixing a drug into his drink. Yesügey set off feeling unwell. By the time he arrived home three days later, his condition had worsened.

Yesügey-Bahadır: ‘I feel unwell; who is with me?’ he asked. They told him that Münglik, the son of Çaraka-Ebügen of the Kongkotan tribe, was nearby. Yesügey summoned Münglik and said: ‘My son Münglik, my children are still young. While returning after leaving my son Temüjin as a son-in-law, I was poisoned by the Tatars. I am in great pain. Take it upon yourself to look after my young children, my widow and my daughter-in-law. My son Münglik, go and fetch my son Temüjin at once!” Yesügey said these words and died.

II

TEMÜCİN'S YOUTH. HIS CAPTURE BY THE TAYCHUTS.

FRIENDSHIP WITH TO'ORIL (TUGRUL) OF THE KEREYIT (§ 69–103)

Münglik, acting on Yesügey-Bahadır's word, went to Dey-Se-çen and said: 'My lord Yesügey misses Temücin terribly and his heart is heavy. I have come to fetch Temücin.' Dey-Se-çen replied: 'If my brother-in-law misses his son, let him go, but let him return immediately upon seeing him!' And Münglik took Temücin from Eçige and departed.

As mentioned above, following the capture of Ambakay-Khan by the Tatars and the subsequent selection of Kutula as khan, Yesügey, the third son of Bartan-Bahadır, had gained the upper hand amongst the Mongol tribes.

However, following Yesügey's death, all these developments were shaken to their foundations. The family's close relatives, friends and kin:

> 'The deep waters have dried up, the shining stone has been shattered!'

and saw no harm in leaving Yesügey's wife, Hö'elün-Ücin, and their children alone in the middle of the steppe as they set off on their journey.

It was precisely under these harsh and perilous conditions that Hö'elün-Ücin, wife of Yesügey and mother of Temüjin, demonstrated her exceptional character by raising a line of khans destined to rule the world. The family's dire circumstances at that time are described in verse in The Secret History of the Mongols, as follows (here rendered in a free translation from the Mongolian):

After the Taychi'ut brothers left Hö'elün-Ücin and the children behind at the camp,

Hö'elün-Ücin, a capable woman,
raised her young children, Tightening
her headscarf, tying her skirt at her
waist,
She ran up and down the banks of the Onan River,
gathering wild pears and rnoyıl fruits
and fed her children day and night. The
brave mother Ücin
raised her beloved children.
Taking a stick made from a cypress tree,
Digging up the roots of the Südün and çiçiği,
She fed them.
The children, raised by Ücin's mother
The children, fed on wild onions, Grew up
to become chieftains.
By Ücin's mother, who loved order,
The children, nourished by grass
roots, grew up to be well-behaved
and intelligent. Nourished by Ko'a-
Ücin
The proud children, who were fed on garlic
and onions,
possessed high nobility.
Having been raised as brave and noble,
they were now brave sons of brave men
and courageous.
Saying, 'Let us help our mother,' they
sat upon the Onan shore, making
fishing rods and hooks
they caught all manner of fish.
Bending the needles to make fishing
rods,
they hunted for mackerel and sea bream.
By making nets

small fish,
and thus, thanking , they looked after their mothers.

As Yesügey died around 1165, his eldest son Temücin was still only ten years old at that time. This arduous life of struggle and war for the family lasted thirty-one years until Temücin was elected Khan by the tribes gathered around him in 1196, and forty-one years until he was proclaimed 'Great Khan' in 1206 following the unification of all the tribes. The principal events that occurred during this period are as follows:

— Temüjin's capture by the Tatars and his subsequent rescue.
— The theft of nine horses by raiders and their recovery by Temüjin.
— Finding his fiancée Börte and marrying her.
— The renewal of the alliance with To'oril (Tuğrul), leader of the Kereyits.
— The camp was raided by the Merkits, and Börte was abducted.
— A tripartite alliance between Tuğrul, Camuka and Temücin against the Merkits
— The defeat and dispersal of the Merkits, and the rescue of Börte.
— The gathering of many Mongol tribes around Temücin and his election as Khan for the first time under the title 'Genghis Khan': 1196.

Thus, whilst they were living on, Tarkutay-Ki-riltuk of the Taychiuts came with his own men and:

'The wicked have shed their
feathers, the drooling little ones
have grown,'

and suddenly attempted to storm the camp. The mother, children and siblings hid in fear in the dense forest, the Belgütey trees...

Whilst they were building a palisade, Kasar met them with a volley of arrows. Whilst Kaçi hid Temüge and Temülün amongst the rocks and fought, the Tayçi'nts shouted: 'Send your elder brother Temücin; there is no need for your leader!' Upon this, his mother and brothers mounted Temücin on a horse and carried him off. When the Taychi'uts saw him running towards the forest, they gave chase. Although Temücin managed to penetrate the forest on Tergüne Hill, the Taychi'uts could not enter, but they laid siege to the forest.

After spending nine days in the forest, Temücin emerged, unable to endure the hunger any longer, and was captured and taken away by the Tayçi'uts. The Taychi'uts sentenced him, placed a collar around his neck, and decided that he should be kept in different villages, spending one night in each house in turn. Temücin escaped from this captivity with the help of Süldüslü Sorkan-Şiran and found his men.

Some time after this incident, raiders stole nine horses— —from Temüjin's family's camp. Temüjin demonstrated his exceptional courage in this incident too: rejecting his brothers' offer of help, he set off alone in pursuit of the raiders and managed to find and recover his horses. However, a young man named Bo'orçu, whom he met on the way and later befriended, came to his aid. Bo'orçu would later hold a high rank in Genghis Khan's army and become a much-talked-about figure.

Thereafter, Temüjin and Belgütey set out along the Kelüren River, travelling downstream, in search of Börte-Üjin, the daughter of Dey-Seçen, whom Temüjin had seen only once when he was nine years old before parting ways. Dey-Seçen of the Ungirat tribe , was at that time
was situated between the Çekçer and Çikurku mountains. Upon seeing Temücin, Dey-Seçen exclaimed with great joy: 'Knowing that the Tayçi'ut brothers—both elder and younger— , were jealous of you , ,
I had become very sorrowful and had given up all hope. Now I see you again!' he said, and after giving his daughter to him as a wife, he sent them off together. Dey-Seçen, who came with him, near Kelüren—

so he turned back after leaving the Urak-Col pass. However, his wife and Börte-Ücin's mother, Çatan, accompanied the girl and took her as far as Temücin's home. At that time, Temücin's men were in the vicinity of the Senggür River, between the Gürelgü Mountains.

One day, Temücin, Kasar and Belgütey set out, taking with them a black sable fur, to visit To'oril (Tuğrul), the ruler of the Kereyits. In the past, their father Yesügey and Tuğrul had sworn an oath of friendship. 'A man who has formed a bond of friendship with our father is like a father to us!' said the three brothers. Upon arriving at Tuğrul's, Temücin spoke thus: 'You were once a friend to my father; now you are like a father to me. I have brought you this fur, a wedding gift!' Tuğrul replied with great joy:

> In exchange for this black sable fur,
> I shall reunite your scattered nation!
> In exchange for the sable fur, I shall
> restore order to your fragmented
> nation!

Temüjin's family, numbering roughly ten people, had settled on the banks of the Bürgi River at its source when, one day, they were raided by the Merkits. During this raid, two women—Temüjin's wife, Börte-Üjin, and the household servant, Ko'akçin-Emegen—were captured and taken prisoner by the Merkits. Temüjin and his brothers, having taken refuge in the forests of the Burkan-Kaldun Mountains, escaped unharmed. Eventually, Temüjin descended from the Burkan-Kaldun Mountains, struck his chest with his fists, and said: Ko'akçin Ana

> Because she heard like a mole
> and saw like a blind man,
> saying 'Let me be saved'
> On a horse with a single bridle

Following the deer tracks,
Taking shelter in huts made of black poplar bark, I
climbed Burkan Peak.
With the help of Burkan-Kaldun
Like the life of a flea
My life was saved.
To save my one and only life With
just a single horse
Following the tracks
Taking shelter in huts made of willow bark, I climbed
Kaldun Hill.
With the help of Burkan-Kaldun,
just like the life of a swallow, my
life was saved.
I also endured great fear. For
Burkan-Kaldun
I worship every morning, Let
my descendants and
the generations to come may know this!

With these words, Temüjin slung his belt around his waist and his hat over his arm, turned towards the sun, and, pounding his chest, knelt nine times to pray

III

A Tripartite Agreement Between Tugrul, Camuka and Temüjin Against the Merkits. The Defeat and Dispersal of the Merkits. The Rescue of Börte. The Election of Temüjin as Khan with the Title ‘Genghis Khan’

(§ 104–126)

Thereafter, Temüjin, Kasar and Belgütey went to Tuğrul Khan, the ruler of the Kereyit, who was at that time in the Black Forest near the Tu’ula River. Temüjin said: ‘Three clans of the Merkits came suddenly and abducted our women and children. I have now come to plead with you: ‘O Khan, my father, rescue our women and children!’” Tughrul replied: “When you placed my black sable fur coat upon me last year, did I not say to you: ‘I shall reunite your scattered people!’? Now I return to those words:

In exchange for the sable fur,
even even if it means annihilating all the Merkits, I
shall rescue your Börte-Ücin.
In exchange for the black sable fur, even if it
means crushing all the Merkits, let us
Let us bring her back!

‘Send word to our younger brother Camuka as well. He should be stationed near the Korkonak Valley. I shall advance from here with two divisions on the right flank, and our younger brother Camuka shall advance with two divisions on the left flank. Let Camuka decide the place and time of our rendezvous!’

After returning home, Temücin sent Kasar and Belgütey as envoys to Camuka. They explained the situation to Camuka and relayed the words of Tuğrul, the ruler of Kereyit, exactly as they were. After listening to them, Camuka replied: ‘When I learnt that my friend Temücin’s

bed lies empty, my heart aches.
Upon hearing that half his chest had been torn apart, my heart burned.
Let us take our revenge
let us destroy the Uduyit and Uvas Merkit
tribes, and rescue our Ücin-Börte.
By taking our revenge,
let us crush all the Ka’at Merkits,
and
back!

Ultimately, the Uduyit Merkits, who were attacked by a combined force of four divisions—comprising one division led by Temüjin, one by Jamuka, and two by Tughril—were annihilated in this battle. The remaining Merkits and their leaders, who had fled to the Naymans, were killed near the source of the Tok-to’a-Beki Erdiş; his sons, who had taken refuge with the Kipchaks, were pursued and annihilated by Subutai in 1205.

In the history of Temüjin’s wife, Börte-Üjin, it is recounted that was the liberation of the Merkit tribe Secret Selengge bo-’s account of the rescue of the as follows
Merkit
at night by following and capturing her and they want to do—
river, our soldiers also
plundering.
Temücin: “Börte! Börte! ” he shouted, as he came across this fleeing
tribe. Börte-Ücin was also among this tribe;
Temüjin recognised recognising came got out and ran ,
her by her voice
Börte-Ücin and Ko’akçin recognised Temücin by his voice
, and embraced him. Temüjin too, in the moonlight recognised Börte-Ücin

recognised him, and they reached out to embrace one another. Upon this, Temüjin sent word to Tuğrul Khan and his friend Camuka: 'I have found what I was seeking; let us not pursue them by night, let us stay here!' The Merkits, fleeing in disarray, spent the night where they were in the darkness. This is how Temüjin came across Börte-Üjin and rescued her from the Merkits.

After their successful campaign against the Merkits, Temüjin and Jamuka lived together in harmony for a year and a half. One day, deciding to leave this encampment, they set out in the first month of spring. Although they had discussed and agreed on the migration together, Camuka's immediate talk of settling down again aroused Temücin's suspicion ( ). After consulting with his family, Temücin decided not to stop but to continue on their way, and thus they parted ways with Camuka completely.

They walked all night. After daybreak, they saw three brothers from the Ca-layir clan—Kaçi'un-Tokura, Karakay-Tokura and Karalday-Tokura—approaching them, having walked alongside them all night. Then Kada'an-Daldurkan of the Tarkud, although they were all five brothers of the Tarkud, came and joined them. Then Ünggür, the son of Münggetü-Kiyan, and others, came together with the Çangşi'ut and Baya'ut clans. Two brothers from the Barulas, named Kubilay and Kudus, and two brothers from the Mankuds, named Cetey and Dokolku-Çerbi, arrived. Bo'orçu's younger brother, Ögölen-Çerbi, broke away from the Arulads and followed his elder brother, Bo'orçu. Celme's younger brother, Ça'urkan, and Sübe'etey-Ba'atur, having separated from the Uriyangkan tribe, came to join Celme at . Two brothers from the Besüd tribe, Degey and Küçügür, and the brothers Çilgütey, Takı and TY.içi'uday from the Suldus tribe also arrived. Seçe-Domok and Arkay-Kasar Bala from the Calayirs also came with their sons. Süyiketü Çerbi from the Kongkotan

also arrived. Sükegey-Ce'ün, son of Sükekenli Cegey-Kongdakor, arrived. Çaka'an-Uva of Ne'üdey also arrived. Kinggi·yaday of the Olkuno'ud, Seçi'ür of the Korolas and Moçi-Bedü'ün of the Döriben also arrived. Butu of the İkires came along as he was staying there as a son-in-law. Cungso of the Noyakin also arrived. Cirko'an of the Oronars also arrived. Suku-Seçen and Karaçar of the Barulas arrived with their sons. Then Korçi, Usun-Ebügen and Kököçös of the Ba'arins arrived in a camp with the Menen-Ba'arins.

Although Kunan was at their head, the Geniges arrived as a detachment. Then Daritay-Otçiğin also arrived with his detachment. Mulkalku of the Cadaran also arrived. Üncin-Sakayit also arrived with a camp. Thus, when they had departed from Camuka and settled near Ayıl-Karakana, close to the Kimurka River, Sorkatu-Cürki of the Cürkinli, with his two sons named Saça-Beki and Tayçu, arrived with a camp; furthermore, Kuçar, the son of Nekün-Tayzı-Beki with a camp, and Kutula-Han's son Altan-Otçiğin with a camp; these too set out from Camuka and moved on to Temü-

They came and joined him whilst he was near Ayıl-Karakana, close to the Kimurka River. Then, setting out from there together, they went and settled in the Kökö-Na'ur valley, situated near Kara-Cirügen, in the Senggür valley amongst the Gürelgü Mountains.

Thus, Temüjin—who, through his courage, eloquence and political acumen, had managed to rally many tribes around him and whose followers were growing ever in number—had now gained control over a significant part of the country; all that remained was for this to be formally proclaimed. Seeing this, the leaders of the tribes first discussed the matter amongst themselves and decided to make Temüjin 'Khan'. They also raised the matter with Temüjin. Temüjin did not object. For this matter would be the culmination of all the activities he had undertaken up to that point, and at the same time, it was fully his right.

Altan, Kuçar and Saça-Beki, who had been appointed at the meeting, said the following to Temücin: ‘We wish to make you Khan. Temücin, if you become Khan, we

> march as the vanguard against the enemies; on
> days of battle
> if we do not obey your
> commands, you shall separate
> us from our property and
> possessions, from our wives
> and children,
> Cast your black heads
> to the ground; if we
> break the alliance in
> times of peace,
> We will be separated from our own men,
> and our women and children,
> and banish us to a land without a master!’.

At the assembly, they said these words to Temüjin and, after he had sworn an oath, made him ‘Khan’ with the title ‘Genghis Khan’.

Although the date of this event, which marks Temüjin’s election as Khan, is not explicitly stated in The Secret History of the Mongols, historians estimate it to be 1196. However, this election did not yet signify a definitive victory, for Jamuka and Tugrul, who had hitherto been bound to Temüjin by ties of friendship, would begin to envy him upon hearing of his election as Khan, and would even attempt to remove him from power in order to seize control of Mongolia for themselves. Temüjin would emerge victorious from this struggle, and (as will be seen below) this election would be repeated in 1206, but on this occasion he would be proclaimed ruler of the whole of Mongolia.

Following Temüjin’s election as khan, appointments began: Bo’orçu’s younger brother Ögöley-Çeııbi, Kaçi’un-Tokura’

He granted the right to carry the quiver to Un, and to the two brothers, Cetey and Dokolku-Çerbi.

Önggür, Süyiketü-Çerbi and Kada'an-Daldurkan, these three: We
shall not
nor delay the
evening drink!

and became cooks. Degey became a shepherd. His younger brother, Güçügür, took charge of the maintenance and repair of the tent wagons.

Daday-Çerbi said: 'I shall supervise the servants at home!' Kubilay, Çilgütey and Karakay-Tokura, these three, took up their swords alongside Kasar. To them they said:

'Sever the necks of
the Haşins, and tear
open the chests of the
insolent ones!
c h ests!

they were commanded. -Kutu, Moriçi and Mulkalku of the Tayçi'ut tribe took on the duty of tending the herds.- To Arkay-Kasar, Takay, Sükegey and Ça'urkan—that is, these four men—Genghis Khan said:

'You, read the ko'rçak for the near,

and for the near, recite the odora

'Come on!' he said. — S übe'tey-Bahadır said: 'I'll

round up the men like rats
, and those left
outside, I'll gather
like black crows.
Like a blanket
I wish to cover you, like a
blanket against the wind, I wish
to protect your home!

After this, Genghis Khan said the following to Bo'orçu and Celme:

When I had no friend but my own shadow,
You became my shadow,
You soothed my heart; I shall
never forget you!

Since youcame to me before anyone else and stayed by my side, should you not be the leaders of those here? Genghis Khan continued: 'With the aid of heaven and earth, my strength has grown; they have protected me. Thanks to this, you too have left our friend Camuka and come to me with thoughts of friendship. Since this is the case, you are undoubtedly my old friends and have brought happiness here! Now I shall appoint each of you in a fitting manner

To announce that Temüjin had been chosen as ruler under the title of 'Genghis Khan', Dakay and Sügegey were sent as envoys to Tuğrul Khan, the leader of the Kereyits. Tuğrul Khan: It is quite right that you have made my son Temüjin a khan. How could you Mongols have remained without a khan?

Please do not
Do not break it again; do
not
Do not tear it apart again, Do
not
Do not sever it again! he
replied.

iV

THE ELECTION OF CAMUKA BY HIS OWN CLAN «GÜR HAN». THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN TUGRUL AND CENGIZ HAN AGAINST CAMUKA

(§ 127–147)

Camuka said to Arkay-Kasar and Ça'urkan, who had been sent as envoys by Genghis Khan: 'Go to Altan and Kuçar and tell them this: Altan and Kuçar, you must prod the flanks of my friend Temüjin

By prodding his flanks,

tickling his ribs,

why have you driven a wedge between us? Why did you not make my friend Temüjin Khan whilst he was still with us? With what intentions are you now making him Khan? Altan and Kuçar, keep your word, soothe my friend's heart and wish him well!»

However, such good wishes were not enough to mend the rift between Genghis Khan and Jamuka; on the contrary, partly due to a series of unexpected events, the rift between them widened steadily. Feelings of jealousy developed into hostility, leading to the formation of opposing fronts and the situation escalated into war.

The first clash between Genghis Khan and Jamuka took place at Dalan Balcut, near the Onon River. Both sides had forces of three regiments each, and Jamuka gained the upper hand. Genghis Khan took advantage of the evening darkness to retreat as far as the Cereme Pass, and Jamuka, abandoning the pursuit, turned back.

Meanwhile, the Kitan ruler Altan-Han was engaged in battle with the Tatars. Seizing this opportunity, Genghis Khan, the Kereyit...

Tughrul, and together they fought against the Tatars, capturing a portion of their forces.

Thereafter, Genghis Khan marched against the Curkins, who had been causing unrest by attacking certain tribes; following a successful campaign, he eliminated their leaders, Saça-Beki and Tayçu.

Thereafter, in the year 1201, the tribes of Kadagin and Salci'ut came to an agreement; Baku-Çorogi of the Kadagin, with his own men, and Çirgiday-Ba:hadır of the Salci'ut, with his own men, went and made an agreement with the Dörben and the Tatars; from the Dörben, Kaçi'un-Beki with his own men; from the Tatars, Alçi and Calin-Buka with their own men; from the İkires, Tüge-Maka with his own men; from the Unggirad, Dergek, Emel, Alkuy and others; from the Korolas, Çonak and Çaka'an with their own men; and from the Güçü'üt-Nayman tribe of the Naymans, Buyruk-Han; from the Merkits, Kutu, son of Tokto'a Beki; from the Oirats, Kuduka-Beki; from the Taychi'uts, Tarkutay-Kiril-tuk, Kodun-Örçeng, A'uçu-Bahadır and other Taychi'uts—in short, all these peoples gathered at the source of the Alkuy and decided to elect Camuka of the Cacirats as khan. They slaughtered a stallion and a mare and swore an oath to one another. Thereafter, they migrated downstream along the Ergiine River and, at the point where the Kan River flows into the Ergüne, on the tip of an island, they
as ruler under the title of 'Gür Khan'.

Following Camuka's election, they decided to declare war on Genghis Khan and Tugrul. However, Kori-day of the Korulash informed Genghis Khan of this decision to go to war. Genghis Khan was in Gürelgü at the time. Upon receiving such news, Genghis Khan informed Tugrul of this. As soon as Tugrul received the news, he gathered his troops and went to Genghis Khan's side.

After Tuğrul arrived, they held talks with Genghis Khan and decided to go to war against Camuka, setting out along the Kelüren River in the direction of the current. Genghis Khan, Altan, Ku·

He sent Çar and Daritay ahead as advance guards. Tuğrul also sent Senggürn, Caka-Gambu and Bilge-Beki ahead as advance guards. These advance guards in turn sent out reconnaissance parties. Buyruk-Han of the Naymans, sent forward as a vanguard by Camuka; Kutu, son of Tokto'a-Beki of the Merkits; Kuduka-Beki of the Oyrats; and A'uçu-Bahadır of the Mongols encountered our vanguards and called out to them. Meanwhile, as dusk began to fall, they retreated, saying, 'Let us fight tomorrow!', and spent the night with their main forces.

The following day, the armies of both sides set out, marching towards one another until they met at Koyiten. Pushing and shoving one another back and forth, they attempted to form their battle lines. According to a rumour circulating amongst the people, Buyruk Han and Kuduka, who had joined this battle on Camuka's side, were said to be able to conjure rain through sorcery. As they cast their spells for rain, it did indeed begin to rain. However, the storm turned the rain against them. Unable to advance, they tumbled into the trenches and, exclaiming, 'We have certainly not been deprived of God's grace!', they scattered.

Nayman leader Buyruk Khan set off from Camuka and headed towards Uluk-Tak, at the foot of the Altai Mountains. Kutu, son of the Merkit leader Tokto'a, went towards Selengge. The Oirat leader Kuduka-Beki fled towards the forests and took the road to Şisgis. The Tayçi'ut leader A'uçu Baha-dır Onan took his own route. As for Camuka, after plundering the tribes that had elected him Khan, he retreated along the Ergiine in the direction of the raid. Once they had thus been scattered, Tuğrul pursued Camuka in the direction of the Ergiine. Genghis Khan pursued the Tayçi'utlu A'uçu-Bahadır in the direction of Onan. Upon reaching his homeland, A'uçu-Bahadır took his own people with him. Whilst A'uçu-Bahadır and Kodun-Örçeng of the Tayçi'ut were organising their remaining shield-bearing soldiers on the opposite bank of the Onan River to prepare for battle, Genghis Khan attacked and engaged them in battle. The battle—

The battle was at various stages. Come evening, they spent the night facing each other on the same battlefield. The people also rushed over and spent the night there, building fortifications alongside the soldiers.

Genghis Khan had been wounded in the artery during this battle, and it was impossible to stop the bleeding. In great agony, he dismounted and lay down on his bed in the tent. His attendant Celme (who later became a major), trusting no one, did not leave Genghis Khan's bedside whilst he lay unconscious, and was

. This continued until midnight . Finally

Genghis Khan came to him and said, 'The blood has dried up completely; I am parched!' Celme made some buttermilk and gave it to Khan to drink. After drinking it in three sips, Khan said, 'My eyes have been opened once more,' and sat up. By this time, dawn had broken and the day was beginning to lighten; Genghis Khan had noticed that mud had formed around the spot where he was sitting, caused by Celme spitting out the blood he had been sucking. Noticing this, Genghis Khan said: 'What is this? Couldn't you have gone a little further away to spit?' Celme: "Don't worry. I was afraid that if I went further away, I would be separated from you. In my haste, I swallowed what I had seen, I swallowed it, I spat out what I had spat out, I spat it out, he-

'I've got something in my stomach too,' she said. Genghis Khan replied: 'What can I say now? Once, when the three Merkits circled Burkan three times, you saved my life. Now, once again, by sucking the dried blood from my mouth, you have breathed life into me. Then, whilst I was suffering from thirst, it was you who risked your own life in the dead of night to find me some buttermilk and let me drink my fill, thereby saving my life. I shall never forget these three acts of service you have rendered me !».

Süldüslü Sorkan-Şira, who had once helped Temücin escape from captivity at the hands of the Tayçi'uts, also came to join Genghis Khan after the battle, accompanied by his sons and daughter. Genghis Khan said to Sorkan-Şira:

‘You were the
one who cast
the heavy yoke
from my neck,
from my collar!
This was an act befitting a
father and his sons; why did
you delay?

Sorkan-Şira replied: ‘I have long trusted you in my heart, but how could I have hurried? Had I come earlier in haste, the leaders of the Taychi’uts would have swept away my remaining women, children, herds and provisions like the wind. Thinking of this, we did not hurry and could only come now to join our Khan.”

It was also around this time that Cirko’aday, who would later gain fame in the army as ‘Cebe’, broke away from the Taychiuts and joined Genghis Khan.

V

GENGIS KHAN'S SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE TAYCHI'UT AND THE TATARS. GENGIS KHAN AND TUGRUL JOINING FORCES TO DEFEAT THE NAYMANS! TUGRUL ABANDONING GENGIS KHAN TO JOIN FORCES WITH CAMUKA

(§ 148–169)

At this time, Genghis Khan marched against the Taychi'ut and utterly annihilated their leaders—A'uçu-Bahadır, Hoton-Orçang, Kudu'udar and others—along with their entire clans, reducing them to ashes, and took their people captive. He then settled in the vicinity of Kuba-Kaya and spent the winter there.

Following this incident, whilst Genghis Khan was at Tersüt, Caka-Gambu of the Ke-reyit tribe abandoned Tuğrul and came to Genghis Khan, joining his army. After his defection, the Merkit tribe, who sought to launch a raid, were repelled by Genghis Khan and Caka-Gambu acting in concert. Thereafter, Caka-Gambu gathered the people of Tümen-Tübegen, all the Dungkayits and the scattered Kereyits, and placed them under Genghis Khan's command.

After the winter had passed, in the spring of 1202, which coincided with the Year of the Dog, Genghis Khan met with the Chaa'an-Tatar, Alchi-Tatar, Duta'ut-Tatar and Alukay-Tatar tribes at Dalan-Nemürges. Before the battle, Genghis Khan issued the following order: 'Let us not dwell on the spoils in order to defeat the enemy. If we win, the goods we capture will be ours anyway; we can share them amongst ourselves. If the enemy forces us to retreat, let us fall back to the point where we launched our attack and take up positions there; let us execute those who fail to take up positions at that point!' Upon Genghis Khan's words, among themselves

They decided this after consulting one another. They engaged the Tatars in battle at Dalan-Nemürges, forcing them to retreat, and, pursuing them, took their entire people captive at Ulkuy-Şilü-gelcit. There, they annihilated the leading Tatar clans: the Çakan-Tatars, the Alçi-Tatars, the Duta'ut-Tatars and the Al-kuy-Tatars. Altan, Kuçar and Daritay—these three—were busy gathering booty rather than obeying the order given. Because they had disobeyed the order, Genghis Khan sent Cebe and Kublai to them and ordered the return of the herds and other items they had seized.

In the Year of the Dog, 1202, whilst Genghis Khan was at war with the Tatars, Tughrul also declared war on the Merkit people, pursuing their leader, Tokto'a-Beki, as far as Barkucin-Töküm, killed Tokto'a-Beki's eldest son, Töğüs-Beki, and took captive his two daughters, Kutuktay and Ça'arun, along with their wives and their sons, Kutu and Çila'un, and the entire people, carrying them off. Tuğrul gave nothing of this booty to Genghis Khan.

Following this incident, Genghis Khan and Tughril set out together on a campaign against Buyruk-Khan of the Naymans. Buyruk-Khan, who had taken up position near the Sokak River in the vicinity of Uluk-Tak, was unable to hold his ground and retreated towards the Altai Mountains. Genghis Khan and Tughrul pursued Buyruk-Han across the Altai Mountains, advancing downstream along the Ürüngü River at the Kum-Şınggır location, whilst Buyruk-Han's officer, Yedi-Tubluk, followed behind as rearguard. When the pursuing vanguard caught up with him, he attempted to flee over the mountains, but was captured because the strap of his saddle broke. Proceeding downstream along the Ürüngü River in pursuit of the enemy, they caught up with Buyruk-Han near Lake Kişil-Başı and annihilated him there.

As Genghis Khan and Tughrul were returning from there, Kökse-ü-Sabrak, a warrior of the Nayman tribe, was waiting in a state of readiness for battle, having organised his army at Baydarak-Belçir. Genghis Khan and Tughrul also decided to engage in battle and organised their armies; however, as darkness suddenly fell, they postponed the battle until the following day

They spent the night in an orderly fashion, intending to engage in battle. However, after Tuğrul had lit fires at numerous points in the area where he was stationed, he abandoned Genghis Khan during the night and set off towards the course of the Kara-Se'ül River.

Genghis Khan spent the night there. The following morning, when he looked towards Tuğrul's positions with the intention of commencing battle, he saw that he had departed. "They are treating us like burnt food!" he exclaimed, and, following the paths Tuğrul had taken along the Eder-Altay valley, he proceeded to Sa'ari-Ke'er and settled there.

Kökse'ü-Sabrak, who had followed Tuğrul, plundered the women, children and people of his son Senggüm, then took half of Tuğrul's people from the Telegetü Pass, along with their livestock and provisions, and returned. Meanwhile, the two sons of the Merkit Tokto'a, named Kutu and Çila'un, were also with Tuğrul. Taking advantage of the confusion, they broke away and, taking their own tribes, moved downstream along the Selengge River to join their father.

Tughrul, who had been plundered by Kökse-ü-Sabrak, sent an envoy to Genghis Khan with the following message: 'The Naymans have taken my people, my women and children, away. I ask you, my son, to send your four heroes and rescue my people." Upon this, Genghis Khan dispatched his four heroes—Bo'orçu, Mukali, Borokul and Çila'un-Bahadır—along with their troops to aid Tuğrul. Tughrul's son, Senggüm, had already engaged in battle with the Naymans at the Hula'an-Kut site before these four heroes arrived. Senggüm, having been wounded in the leg by an animal, was on the verge of being taken captive by the enemy when he was rescued by the four heroes who arrived just in time. They also rescued and returned Tuğrul's people, his wife and children. Upon this, Tuğrul said: 'In the past, your kind-hearted father had also saved my nation, which was just as completely scattered as it is now. Now, however, it is his son, sent by , who has...'

'Four heroes saved my nation, which lay scattered in the same way. May heaven and earth bear witness that I shall show my gratitude!'

Tuğrul added the following to his words: 'Once upon a time, my friend Yesügey-Bahadır saved my fragmented nation. His son Temücin likewise saved my scattered nation. As father and son gathered my scattered nation and brought it to me in this way, for whom were they working? I am now growing old. Now the time is coming for me to ascend to the heavens. After I have grown old and been laid to rest, who will rule my people? My younger brothers are incompetent men. My only son, Senggüm, is as if he did not exist—he is alone. 'I shall make my son Ternücin an elder brother to Senggüm, so that I may have two sons and my heart may be at ease!' With these thoughts, Tuğrul spoke at length with Genghis Khan in the Black Forest of the Tu'ula tribe, and in the end they decided to act as father and son towards one another.

However, Tughril was an indecisive man. Although he had promised Genghis Khan that they would live as father and son, he was never able to remain consistently true to his word. Whilst he felt a deep sense of loyalty towards Genghis Khan, he often changed his mind under pressure and influence from those around him, joining the enemy ranks. His constant switching of sides was largely due to the influence of his beloved son, Nilka-Senggüm, who was also Genghis Khan's implacable enemy. Tuğrul's indecisiveness caused those around him to grow cold towards him and gradually abandon him, ultimately leading to his own tragic end.

A marriage proposal incident also played a significant role in the growing estrangement between Genghis Khan's and Tughril's families, and Camuka skilfully exploited this.

Genghis Khan, wishing to deepen this friendship with Tuğrul through a second alliance, sought a bride for his brother Coçi (Senggüm).

He asked for his sister Ça'ur-Beki, and in return offered to give his own daughter Kocin-Beki to Senggüm's son Tusaka. At this, Senggüm, regarding himself as superior, said: 'If one of our kin were to go to you, he would sit by the door and constantly look up towards the high side. If someone from your lineage comes to us, they will sit on the high side and look down at the threshold,' and he did not give his sister Ça'ur-Beki. Upon hearing these words, Genghis Khan's affection for Tuğrul and Nilka-Senggüm diminished.

Realising that Genghis Khan's favour was waning, Jamuka met and spoke with Altan, Süge'etey of the Ku·çar and Kardakin tribes, To'oril of the Ebügecin tribe, and Kaçi'un-Beki of the No-yakin tribe during the spring of 1203, the Year of the Pig. Then, setting out together from there, they went to Nilka-Senggüm in the Berke-Elet desert, north of Cece'er Hill. Here, Camuka slandered Genghis Khan, saying: 'My friend Temüjin is secretly maintaining relations with Tayang Khan of the Naymans by sending envoys.

He speaks of '
'—father and
son—but his
actions are quite
different.

Can we trust him? If you do not act first, what will become of you? If you take action against Temüjin, I shall attack from the flank."

Altan and Kuçar said: 'For your sake, we shall kill the children of Hö'elün,

and his elder brothers,
and cast their younger
brothers into the
steppe!"

The people of Ebügecin, Noyakin and Kardakin said: : ‘We will bind their hands

‘We’ll bind
their hands
and feet!’

To’oril said: ‘The best course is to go by trickery and seize Temüjin’s people. Once the people of have been taken, what can he do when no one remains around him?’

Kaçi'un-Beki: ‘My son Nilka-Senggüml, whatever you think—I too

to the very end
of the distance,
to the very
bottom of the
depths
I will go with you!”

Following these discussions, Nilka-Senggüm conveyed these words to her father, Tuğrul, through Sayı-kan-Töde. Upon hearing this news, Tuğrul said: ‘Why do you harbour such thoughts against my son Temücin? Although he has supported us until now, if we think ill of my son today, God will not be on our side. Camuka is a man of wavering words; he speaks one way one moment, another the next,” and thus rejected the proposal. Senggüm replied again: “Why should one not trust a man who speaks with his own mouth and tongue?” and, having sent the message again and again but when no result came of it, he went himself and said the following to his father:

‘Even though your strength has reached , yet he treats us with utter contempt. Father, if you truly

If you tear the white and
stop the black,

the governance of this nation, which was gathered together through great service by your father Kurçakus-Buyruk-Han, will it fall to us ? The governance of this

to whom and how will it be entrusted?' In response, Tuğrul :
'How can I abandon my child, my son? If we harbour ill will towards Temüjin, who has supported us until now, would that be the right thing to do? Would God help us then?' he said. At these words, his son Nilka-Senggüm, feeling hurt, slammed the door and stormed out. However, Tuğrul, eventually taking pity on his son Seng-güm, had him called back and said: 'Do you think God would help us? How could one possibly do evil to one's own son? If you have the power to do such a thing, then it is up to you.'

Thus, once Tuğrul's consent had also been secured, discussions began regarding secret plans aimed at eliminating Genghis Khan or, at the very least, preventing his power from growing. Senggüm, who put forward the first proposal, said: 'They had sought the hand of our Ça'ur-Beki. Now let us summon them to the betrothal council, set a date, bring them here, and then capture !' When this proposal was accepted :
'We shall give you Ça'ur-Beki. Please come to the engagement feast!' they sent word to Genghis Khan. Upon receiving this invitation, Genghis Khan set out with ten men and stayed at Münglik-Eçige's house on the way. Münglik-Eçige said to him: 'When you asked for Ça'ur-Beki, those very men looked down on you and refused to give you their daughter. How is it, then, that they are now acting in the opposite way and inviting you to the engagement feast? How is it that these men, who consider themselves superior,
'They invite you by saying, "We'll give you a bride"? Is this a sound plan? My son, we must be cautious here. Let us send word to them, using this as an excuse: "Spring has come , our animals are weak; we wish to feed them first!"' he said. In the end, Genghis Khan did not go himself, but sent Bukatay and Kiratay, saying, 'Go and eat the engagement feast!' Upon the arrival of Bukatay and Kiratay, the enemies decided, 'We've given the game away. Let's surround and capture him early tomorrow!'

Having thus decided to capture him by surrounding him, Al-tan's younger brother Yeke-Çeren went to his home and said to his wife: 'It has been agreed that we shall capture Temücin early tomorrow. If someone were to go and inform Temücin of this decision, who knows what reward they might receive!' His wife replied: 'What on earth are you on about? People will think you're speaking seriously.' The shepherds Baday and Kişilik overheard this conversation and set off secretly that very night to inform Genghis Khan. After describing all the war preparations they had witnessed from behind the door, they added: 'We report to Genghis Khan that there is no doubt about this; they have decided to surround and capture you.'

VI

GENGIS KHAN'S VICTORY IN THE BATTLE OF KALAKALCIT AGAINST THE KEREYITS UNDER THE COMMAND OF TUGRUL AND CAMUKA. NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN GENGIS KHAN, TUGRUL, CAMUKA AND SENGGÜM. THE FALL OF THE KEREYITS (1203)

(§ 170–185)

Genghis Khan believed the news brought by Baday and Kişilik and, that very night, informed his trusted companions of it. Having lightened their load by discarding their baggage, they set off from there under cover of night. They advanced north of Mount Mau-Ündür. North of Mau-Ündür, he left behind Celme Ko'a, a Uriyang-kat whom he trusted, as a rearguard. Continuing their march, they reached the Kalakalcit Desert by midday on the second day, at the hour of the sun's zenith, and stopped to eat. Whilst the main body of the army rested, Çigiday and Yadir, the herdsmen of Alçiday's ' ', were roaming the area, grazing their horses on fresh pastures, when they spotted the dust of the army approaching from behind, having passed Hula'-an-Burukat in front of Mau-Ündür, and, urging their horses on, brought the news: 'The enemy is coming!' Upon hearing the news of the enemy's approach, when they examined the dust rising from in front of Mau-Ündür and over Hula'an-Burukat, they realised that Tuğrul was in pursuit. As soon as Genghis Khan grasped the situation, he mounted his horse, loaded his animals, and rode away from there. Had they not seen this, they would have been too late.

During this march, Tuğrul and Camuka walked side by side, talking as they went. Although they had united against Genghis Khan, they did not

sincere towards one another. Camuka, in particular, would seize every opportunity to utter provocative words and, by praising Genghis Khan's warrior heroes, sought to instil fear in Tuğrul's heart. Camuka went so far in his disloyalty towards Tuğrul that he even attempted to send a secret envoy to Genghis Khan to provide information about Tuğrul's battle plan as follows:

'When Tuğrul asked me, "Who among Temücin's men understands the art of war?", I told him that I held Uru'ut and the Mangkuds in high regard. Upon this, they placed the Cirgins, whom they considered the best, in the front line. They appointed Tümen-Tübegenli Açık-Şirun to reinforce the Cirgins ( ). They selected Prince Korı-Şilemün, head of Tuğrul's personal guard, to reinforce the Dungkayids. Behind them, as decided, the bulk of Tuğrul's army will be positioned. Furthermore, Tuğrul said to me: 'My younger brother Camuka, you lead the army.' This shows that he is merely a temporary ally. Can their army really be compared to yours ? I have never been successful in battle against my old friend, and he is even inferior to me. My friend, do not fear, but be cautious!'

Upon this, Genghis Khan completed the formation of his army; the Uru'ut and Mangkud clans took up battle formation before Genghis Khan under the command of Cürçedey and Kuyildar. Whilst they were forming up, the enemy arrived, with the Cirgins in front of them. As soon as the enemy arrived, the Uru'ut and Mangkud tribes charged forward and drove the Cirgin tribe back. As they advanced victoriously, Açık-Şirun of the Tümen-Tübegen unit in Tuğrul's army launched an attack and struck Kuyildar with spears, bringing him down. The Mangkuds surrounded their wounded commander, Kuyildar, and began to withdraw with him. However, Cürçedey, leading the Uru'uts, attacked the enemy and drove the Tümen-Tübegenli back. Thus, as they advanced, pressing the enemy, the Olon-Dung-kayitli from Tuğrul's army confronted them. Cürçedey drove them back as well. As he advanced, one of Tuğrul's princes, Korı-Şilemün,

He launched an attack with his cavalry. As Cürçedey repelled his attack and pressed forward, Tuğrul's son Senggüm launched an assault against Cürçedey's forces without his father's consent. However, he was struck in the cheek and fell to the ground immediately. Seeing that Senggüm had been struck, the Kereyits surrounded him and halted.

Genghis Khan's army had won the battle. As the sun was setting over the hill, they took the wounded Kuyildar with them and returned. Genghis Khan withdrew from the battlefield that night and camped elsewhere.

Thereafter, having brought the Unggirat tribe under his rule, Genghis Khan went and settled on the eastern bank of the Tüngge River. From there, he sent Arkay-Kasar and Sügegey-Ce'ün as envoys to Tuğrul with the following words:

'Father Khan, with what anger did you wish to frighten me thus? If your intention was to frighten, why do you not first awaken your own wicked sons and wicked daughters from their deep slumber by frightening them?

The chair I sat upon has sunk,
the rising smoke has dispersed;
why have you frightened me
thus? O my father the Khan,
Did outsiders provoke you?
Did those with ill intent anger
you?

Father, what did we agree upon? Did we not resolve on the crimson peaks of the Corkal-Kun Mountains:

'Fanged serpents
If they seek to sow discord among us,
Let us not fall into this discord,
But let us believe by speaking
face to face,' did we not say?

Now then, Father Khan, having agreed with my teeth and my mouth, why and for what purpose did you part from me?

‘If the great toothed
serpent seeks to bite
us,
let us not take that bite upon ourselves,
but let us agree face to face and trust
one another’—did we not say that?

Now then, Father Han, having agreed with our mouths and tongues, why and for what purpose did you part from me? Father Han,

If I have become small,
could I not have sought great things? If I
had become wicked,
Could I not have sought good
things? If the two-arrowed
chariot’s
one of its shafts
breaks, the ox cannot
pull it.

In the same way, was I not one of your arrows?

If one wheel of a two-
wheeled cart breaks, It
cannot go.

Just as that, wasn’t I one of your wheels?

In addition to this, Genghis Khan managed to win Tughril’s favour—albeit temporarily—by sending envoys to him to recount, in all their bitter and sweet details, the events that had transpired among them both during the reign of his father Yesügey-Ba-hadır and thereafter. Genghis Khan’s words concluded as follows: ‘Now, Father Khan, why are you scolding me like this? Send me an envoy to explain the reason for your anger! If you do send one, send Kubari-Kuri and Idürgen. If you cannot send both of them together, send just one!’

After hearing this, Tughril said: ‘Alas, what a pity!

Have I parted from my son?
Then I have parted from the law!
Have I strayed from my son?
Then I have strayed from our path!»

he said, and felt a pang in his heart. Then, continuing his speech:
'If I harbour any ill will towards my son from now on, may my blood flow just like this!' she swore, pricking the tip of her little finger with her knife to draw blood, and placing a drop of it into a small box made of birch bark, she sent it off, saying: 'Give this to my son!'

After this, Genghis Khan sent the following message to Camuka: 'You have driven a wedge between me and my father, the Khan, out of jealousy. Once upon a time, whoever rose early among us would drink from our father Khan's blue cup. You envied me because I rose earlier than you and drank from it. Now you are busy emptying our father Khan's blue cup!"

Genghis Khan also sent the following message to Seng·güm, the son of Tughrul, who had been wounded in the cheek during the last battle, via his envoys:

'I am a child born in
clothes; you are a child
born naked!'

Our father Han wished to raise us equally. But my friend Senggüm, you have followed me with jealousy, fearing that I might 'interfere!' Do not cause our father Han grief; soothe him morning and evening, as he enters and as he leaves! Do not grieve our father by clinging to your own ideas, nor scatter his thoughts with the intention of becoming ruler in our father Han's time. My friend, send an envoy to me! If you are to send one, send Bilge-Beki and Tödöyen. If an envoy is to come to me, let our father Han send two envoys, and let my friend Senggüm also send two envoys . My friend

Camuka should also send two envoys. Kuçar should also send two envoys. Açık-Şirun should also send two envoys. Kaçi should also send two envoys!" Thus, he sent this message via Arkay-Kasar and Sügegey-Ce.

When Tuğrul's son Senggüm heard these words, he said: 'Since when has he been calling him "Father Khan"? Hasn't he been calling him "the old murderer" up until now? When has he ever addressed me as "my friend"? Hasn't he been saying all this time that 'the sorcerer Tokto is chasing after the tail of a Muslim sheep'? The meaning of these words is clear. They are words that point to war. Bilge-Beki and Tödöyen, raise the banner of war! Feed our horses! We cannot afford to wait here!' he said.

Whilst mutual negotiations continued through envoys , neither side expected a positive outcome. On the contrary, they were seeking to buy time for a new clash. As both sides were striving to achieve absolute control over Mongolia, a sense of mistrust prevailed within the alliance. It seemed as though whoever acted first would win. However, it was clearly evident that the situation was more favourable for Genghis Khan: Genghis Khan, who knew how to gather some tribes around him through war, but most through love and enthusiasm, had seen his strength and power grow steadily, and his name and fame had now spread far and wide. Genghis Khan had come to believe that his old friend and ally Tughrul—whom he addressed as 'my father' —along with Tughrul's son Senggüm and their partner Camuka, must now be eliminated.

Tuğrul, the leader of the Kereyits, who had suffered a defeat at the Battle of Kalakalcit and lost a large portion of his people, was not actually in a position to launch an attack; moreover, relying on the assurances sent by Genghis Khan through his envoys, he did not consider it very likely that Genghis Khan would launch an attack either. Genghis Khan's step-by-step

, Tuğrul had pitched his golden tent and was busy preparing a feast. It was precisely at this moment that Genghis Khan's staff were drawing up the attack plan :

Upon their return, Kali-Udar and Çakur-Kan (Çakırhan), who had been sent as envoys to Tuğrul, said to Genghis Khan: 'Tuğrul is unprepared. He is setting up his golden tent and preparing for a feast. Let us gather immediately, march all night, and surround him from all sides to attack!' Genghis Khan, after consulting with those around him, found this plan suitable. He sent Cürçedey and Arkay ahead, reached the location by night march, and besieged Tuğrul at the pass entrance of the Cece'er-Ündür mountains. Although they fought for three days and three nights, the fortifications held firm. Finally, on the third day, the enemy could no longer hold out and surrendered. Neither Tuğrul nor Senggüm were to be found among them, and no one witnessed how they had escaped. The commander of the opposing side was a man named Kadak-Bahadır. When he was brought before Genghis Khan, he said: 'After fighting for three days and three nights, I could not bear to see my own wife captured and killed, so I continued to resist with the intention of preventing her surrender, thereby facilitating her escape. Now, if I am to be killed, I will die; but if I am pardoned by Genghis Khan, I will serve him with all my strength!'

Genghis Khan, pleased by Kadak-Bahadır's noble words, said: 'Is not this man a true man, who fought to allow his own khan to escape and save himself, rather than betray him? He is a man worthy of being a friend.' Genghis Khan spared Kadak-Bahadır's life and appointed him to replace Kuyildar, who had been wounded and died in the Battle of Kalakalcit.

VII

THE DEATH OF TUGRUL AND SENGGÜM AND THE SUBMISSION OF THE NAYMANS AND MERKITS

(§ 186–197)

After defeating Tugrul, Genghis Khan plundered the Kereyit people and dispersed them in all directions. He gave one hundred men from Cirgin to Süldüslü Takay-Bahadır in return for his service. In the distribution of the Tümen-Tübe-gen, he took enough for everyone.

After Tuğrul and Senggüm had escaped, Tuğrul, being thirsty, went to the Nekün stream near Didik-Sakal. There he came across Korı-Sübeçi from the Nayman outposts and, though he said, 'I am Tuğrul!', he could not convince him. As the Nayman outpost guard did not recognise him, he was captured and killed immediately. Senggüm, however, had not gone to the Nekün stream; instead, she had travelled a long way and reached the Desert region. While searching for water there, he saw wild horses constantly fending off flies. Senggüm had only two people with him: his groom, Kököçü, and the groom's wife. When Senggüm dismounted, he handed his horse over to his groom, Kököçü. As soon as Kököçü took Senggüm's horse, he turned to flee. But his wife said to him:

'When you wore golden robes,
when you ate sweet dishes,
She used to call you 'Kököçüm!' Senggüm,
the Khan,
Why are you leaving him
now?"

he said, and paused. Kököçü asked, 'Or do you want to make Senggüm your husband?' At this, his wife said, 'As a woman, I must say that my face resembles nothing more than a dog's. At the very least, give him your golden goblet so he can drink water!' The groom Kököçü threw the golden cup to the ground and turned back, galloping off at full speed. He then went to Genghis Khan and told him that he had

...in the desert and recounted their conversation exactly as it had taken place. Genghis Khan ordered: 'Reward the woman. No one will believe the groom Kököçü, who has betrayed his own master; cut off his head!'

The remaining members of the Nayman and Merkit tribes—which had been partially subjugated by Genghis Khan a few years earlier—had no intention of ceasing their struggle against Genghis Khan even after the disintegration of the Kereyits. Tayang-Torluk Khan of the Naymans and his mother, Gür-besü, played a leading role in this movement. , the Nayman military commander who had foreseen that launching a military campaign against Genghis Khan would be a disaster, advised them to remain calm , but his words fell on deaf ears.

Köksegü-Sabrak said: 'Now our dogs are barking as if to warn of an approaching danger. Our lady Gürbesü's actions are harsh, but you, Torluk-Tayang, are weak. It seems you have no thoughts other than keeping birds and hunting game.'

In response, Tayang Khan said: 'There are said to be a few Mongols over there to our east. They are said to have frightened the great Tughril with their graves, and ultimately driven him to his death. Or do they now wish to become khans themselves? Even if there are two bright things in the sky—the sun and the moon—there cannot be two khans on earth. Let us march against this handful of Mongols and take them captive!"

Torluk-Tayang's mother, Gürbesü, also spoke up at this point, saying: 'What shall we do with them?

The Mongol people stink, and
they wear black clothes.

'They are far from us now, and let them stay there. However, once we have brought their noble daughters here and cleansed their hands and feet, we could have provided them with our cattle and sheep .' Tayang Khan said: ' ' 'If that is the case, then they are nothing to be feared. Let us now march against the Mongols and take their graves!'

Their commander, Köksegü-Sabrak, warned them again:
'You certainly talk a big game, don't you! O Torluk Khan, are you really the right man for the job? Let's keep quiet!' he said. Despite Köksegü-Sabrak's warnings, Tayang Khan could not resist sending his envoy, Törbi-Taş, to Öng-güdlü Alakuş-Digit-Kuri with the following message: 'They say there are a few Mongols over there on our eastern flank. You be my right-hand man. I'll launch an attack from here. Thus, let us seize their burial grounds!' However, Ala-kuş-Digit-Kuri replied, 'I cannot be your right-hand man!' and sent a man named Yukunan to Genghis Khan, informing him with these words: 'Tayang Khan of the Nayman tribe intends to come to seize your burial grounds. He sent a messenger to me, asking me to be his right-hand man. But I refused. Now, so that you do not lose your territories, I advise you to be on your guard."

Meanwhile, Genghis Khan, who was engaged in a drive hunt on the Camel Steppe, had surrounded the Tülkin-Çe'üd area on all sides. At that moment, Yukunan, sent by Alakuş-Digit-Kuri, brought the news from above. Upon hearing this news, , as they were discussing, 'What shall we do?', some said: 'Now our animals are weak; what can we do in this situation?' However, Otçigin-Noyan:
'Is the weakness of the horses an excuse? My horses are strong. How can one remain idle in the face of such news—

?» he said. Belgütey-Noyan also spoke in support of Otçigin and concluded his remarks by saying: 'The best course of action is to mount the horses immediately!'

Genghis Khan, having approved the proposals of Otçigin and Belgütey , put an end to the continuous hunt; he set out from Abcika-Köteger and settled at Keltegey-Kada, near Ornu in the Kalka region. There, he inspected his army and reorganised it. He formed units of a thousand men and appointed the commanders of these units: the captains, lieutenants and sergeants. Here, he also appointed the Çerbis: Dödey-Çerbi, Dokolku-Çerbi, Öge-le-Çerbi, Tolun-Çerbi, Baçaran-Çerbi and Süyiketü-Çerbi, making a total of six Çerbis. After establishing the battalions (regiments or battalions), companies (platoons) and squads (sections), he formed the guard unit, consisting of eighty night sentries and seventy day sentries. In addition to the children and siblings of the majors and captains, the children and siblings of free men were also permitted to join this unit, provided they were capable and of good stature.

The details of Genghis Khan's order regarding organisation were as follows: 'The warriors, the guard units assigned to the day watch, the cooks, the gatekeepers and the grooms shall begin their duties in the morning and, before sunset, hand over their posts to the night watchmen; they shall then go to their horses and spend the night there. Those assigned to the night watch shall send the sentries around the houses and those at the gate to their posts. The armed guards and those assigned to the day watch shall, the following day whilst we are having soup, go to the night watchmen and introduce themselves; in this manner, the armed guards,

the day guards, the cooks and the gatekeepers will each take up their respective duties. After keeping watch in this manner for three days and three nights, the night guards will rest for three nights in the same manner, and the day guards will begin the night watch by taking their place.»

Thus, having organised his troops into units of a thousand, appointed his commanders, set aside eighty men for the night watch and seventy for the day watch, and selected the core troops for Ar-kay-Kasar, he set out from Orno in the Kalka region, accompanied by Keltegey-Kada, and marched against the Nayman people.

In the year 1204, on the sixteenth day of the first month of summer, Genghis Khan unfurled his banner and set out. Sending Cebe and Kublai ahead, he advanced along the Kelüren. When they reached the Sa'ari steppe, they encountered the Nayman outposts on Kangkarkan Hill. Whilst the Nayman were pursuing Genghis Khan's scouts, they captured a man on a grey horse with a poor saddle. When the Nayman outposts seized this horse, they said amongst themselves: 'The Mongols' horses are weak!' they began to say. After reaching the Sa'ari steppe and coming to a halt, whilst they were discussing 'What shall we do?', Dödey-Çerbi made the following proposal to Genghis Khan: 'We are outnumbered. Not only are we few, but we are also exhausted. Once we have halted here , let us scatter across the Sa'ari steppe and walk on foot until our horses have recovered. Let every soldier light a fire in five different places. This fire will frighten the enemy. It is said that the Naymans are numerous , yet the weak who have not left their homes have not ventured out of their homes . By the time they have gathered themselves under the influence of our fires, our animals will have recovered. Once our animals have regained their strength, we shall raid the Nayman outposts. If we then pursue them to their main strongholds and launch an attack amidst the ensuing chaos, what do you think will happen?"

This idea was deemed appropriate, and Genghis Khan ordered every soldier to light a fire in five places. In this way, the Mongols spread out across the entire Sa'ari steppe and lit as many fires as there were stars in the sky. When the Nayman outposts looked out from Kangkarkan Hill at night and saw fires in many places, they said: 'Did they not tell us that the Mongols were few in number? Yet here there are more fires than stars in the sky.' The prisoners they had taken from the Mongols just a short while earlier

poorly saddled wild horse to their commanders, now sent this message: ‘The Mongol soldiers have occupied the entire Sa’ari steppe. Are they not multiplying every day? Their fires outnumber the stars in the sky.’

Tayang Khan set out from the vicinity of the Kaçır River, marched towards the course of the Tamir River, crossed the Orhon, and proceeded along the eastern side of the Naku cliffs to reach Çakır-Ma’ut.

When Genghis Khan’s outposts spotted them, they sent word: ‘The Naymans are coming!’ Upon hearing this, Genghis Khan said:
‘Just as an excess of the many is harmful, so too is a lack of the few!’ and advanced towards them. As he organised his army and drove their outposts back, he said:

‘We shall march in a “tight meadow” formation,

we shall form up in the ‘Sea’ formation,

“and we shall fight in the ‘spiral’ formation!”

he ordered. Genghis Khan led the way himself, placed the main force under Kasar’s command, and entrusted the transport of the reserve animals to Otchigin-Noyan. The Naymans withdrew from Çakır-Ma’ut and took up positions south of the Naku cliffs, along the edge of the mountain. Thereupon, Genghis Khan’s outposts, having driven back the Naymans’ outposts, pursued them all the way to their main force stationed in front of the Naku cliffs.

When Tayang Khan saw these forces closing in on him, he asked Camuka, who was with the Naymans:
‘Who are these men who, like a wolf that startles a flock of sheep and chases them all the way to the pen, are attacking us?’ Camuka replied: ‘My friend Temücin had four dogs that fed on human flesh and were chained. It is they who have been chasing our outposts. These four dogs:

Their foreheads are of
brass, Their noses are of
iron, Their tongues are like
nails, Their hearts are of
iron, Their whips are
swords!
They feed on raw meat,
They fly on the wind, On
days of battle They eat
human flesh, For days of
movement
they hoard human flesh!”

Now they have broken free from their chains and, in an unstoppable state, spitting as they go, have burst forward with joy. If you wish to know the names of these four dogs, they are:

Two are Cebe and Kubilay,

The other two are Celme and Sübe'etey

There were four of them in total. Tayang Khan said, ‘In that case, let us keep our distance from these wicked people!’ and stepped back, climbing slightly to stand at the foot of the mountain. Thereupon, when Tayang Khan saw those who were trying to surround them, shouting and clamouring with joy, he turned back to Camuka and said, ‘Who are these people?

Like a premature child
suckling at its mother’s
breast, running about,
Why are they surrounding
us?”

he asked. Camuka replied once more:

‘Those who chase the spearmen,
who take their bloodstained
garments,

who follow the sword-wielding
warriors, laying them low, killing
them, and
seizing their belongings—these men are
called Uru'ut and Mangkut!
Do these attacking regiments not
look cheerful now?"

Tayang Khan said again: 'In that case, let us move a little further away from these wicked men!' And, climbing a little higher, they changed their position. Tayang Khan turned to Camuka once more and asked: 'Who is that coming up behind them, at the head of his army, spitting as if he were a hungry wolf?' Camuka replied: 'That is my friend Temüjin

'His entire body is clad
in brass,
with not a single spot left to nail! His entire
body
is forged from iron,
with not a single spot left to pierce with a needle."

Can't you see that my friend Temüjin is coming, spitting like a newborn eagle? You Naymans: 'When the Mongols appear, not even the skin on a kid's feet will remain!'—didn't you say that yourselves? Look how they're coming!' he continued to provoke Tayang Khan.

Tayang Khan said, 'Marvellous, marvellous! In that case, let us climb a little higher!' and they moved their positions a little further up. Tayang Khan asked Camuka again, 'Who is that coming up behind him like a mountain?' Camuka replied:

'Hö'elün's mother had fed her
son human flesh. He stands
three fathoms tall,
He eats a three-year-old ox a day,

He wears three-layered armour,
He rides in a chariot drawn by three
oxen, If he swallows a man, along with
his equipment, nothing happens to his
throat.
Swallowing a man does not satisfy his
appetite. In a fit of rage
and shoots his arrow,
He instantly kills the twenty or thirty men
Behind the mountain.
Those he clashes with,
By shooting his arrow,
He instantly kills those
behind the mountain.
He is unlike other men;
he is like a serpent; the
one they call Coçi-
Kasar—that is he
himself!».

Upon this, Tayang Khan said, 'In that case, let us ascend as quickly as possible; come on, climb!' and, having climbed a little further, they took up their positions again. When Tayang Khan asked once more, 'Who is following him?', Camuka replied, 'This is

Hö'elün's mother's
youngest son, Otçigin. They call
him lazy,
He goes to bed early and gets up
late, but he never lags behind the
group,
He never stays behind the front line!'

Upon hearing this, Tayang Khan said: 'In that case, let us press on and climb to the very summit of the mountain.'

After Camuka had told Tayang Khan these things , then parted from the Nay-mans, saying: 'Tell my friend!' and went to Genghis Khan

He sent this message: ‘Tayang Han, driven mad by my words, has climbed to the top of the mountain. Hang in there, my friend! They no longer have the courage to set up a new front . I, too, have left them.’

When evening fell, Genghis Khan contented himself with encircling Mount Naku and spent the night there. That night, the Naymans rose and attempted to flee: they leapt from the rocks, tumbling over one another, crushing each other’s bones, tearing at each other’s hair, and crashing to their deaths like dry trees. The following day, Tayang Khan, now exhausted, was taken prisoner. Güçülük Khan, acting on his own initiative, set off with only a few men; when pursued, he attempted to hold his ground by fortifying a position near Tamir, but failed and found safety in flight. In this manner, Genghis Khan defeated the Nayman people before the Altai Mountains and annexed them to his realm. The Cadaran, Katagin, Salci’ut, Dörben, Tay-çi’ut and Uggirat tribes, who had hitherto been under Camuka’s command, also submitted to Genghis Khan. Genghis Khan summoned Gürbesü, the mother of Tayang, and said to her: ‘Was it not you who said, “The Mongols smell bad”?’ and took her into his service.

In the autumn of the Year of the Rat (1204), Genghis Khan fought against Tokto’a-Beki of the Merkit tribe near Karadal-Huca’ur and defeated him, taking control of his entire people and state at Sa’ari-Ke’er. Tokto’a, his sons Kudu and Çila’un, and a few others managed to escape.

VIII

THE END OF CAMUKA. THE PROCLAMATION OF TEMÜCİN AS THE ‘GREAT’ KHAN. THE ORGANISATION OF MILITARY AND ADMINISTRATIVE AFFAIRS

(§ 198–208)

After Genghis Khan had brought the Merkit people under his rule, he gave Döregene, one of the two wives of Kudu—the eldest son of Tokto’a-Beki—to Ögödey Khan.

At that time, half of the Merkit tribe had split off again and settled in a fortress on the Taykal hill. Upon this, Genghis Khan issued an order appointing Çimbay, the son of Sorkan-Şira, as commander

He sent his troops, led by the left wing, against the Merkits who had taken refuge in the fortress. Genghis Khan personally pursued Tokto’a, who had managed to escape with only a few men, including his two sons, Kudu and Çila’un, and then established a camp to spend the winter on the southern side of the Altai Mountains.

In the spring of 1205, the Year of the Ox, he set out across the Aray Mountains. Güçülük Khan, whose people had been scattered and who had escaped with only a few men, and the Merkit Tokto’a had joined forces near the source of the Bukdurma on the banks of the Erdiş (Irtysh) and were busy organising their troops. Before Genghis Khan could arrive and engage them in battle,

, Tokto was struck by a stray arrow and killed. His sons were unable to bury his body or take it with them; they could only cut off his head and carry it away. The Naymans and Merkits, despite their strength, were unable to continue the battle and retreated in a hasty withdrawal. As they crossed the Erdis River, most of their men drowned. The few remaining

Another group, too, parted ways after crossing the Eridish and continued on their journey. Güçülük Khan of the Naymans passed through the lands of the Uighurs and Karluks and went to join Gür Khan of the Kara-Kitan, who was in the Muslim lands near the Chuy River. The sons of the Merkit Tokto'a—Kutlu, Kat and Çila'un, along with others—marched through the lands of the Kangli and the Kipchaks. Thereafter, Genghis Khan returned and settled in his main homeland in the Aral Mountains. The Merkits on Taykal Hill surrendered to Çimbay. Thereafter, Genghis Khan ordered that those among the Merkits who were to be killed should be executed, and that the remainder should be divided among his own troops. The Merkits, who had previously been subjugated, rebelled once more upon hearing of this and attempted to flee the camp. However, the guards thwarted this attempt. Faced with this situation, Genghis Khan declared: 'Whilst I had permitted them to live together as before, they have risen in rebellion,' and ordered that they be completely separated from one another and dispersed in all directions.

In the year 1205 of the Ox, Genghis Khan sent Sübetay, the Iron-Wheeled One, to pursue Tokto'a's sons, Kudu, Kal and Çila'un. In his lengthy poetic order—of which we shall quote only a portion here—Genghis Khan stated as follows:

'Tokto'a's sons, Kudu, Kal and Çila'un,
and others,
were struck by arrows whilst fleeing in
fear; their necks like the reins of a wild
horse, like a deer struck by an arrow, if
they take flight and soar high, seeking
to ascend to God, then you, Subetai,
become a hawk,
Will you fly and catch them? If they
burrow into the earth like rats, And
vanish beneath the ground, Will
you dig the earth with a spade,

Can you not follow t h e m ? If they
dive into the sea like fish, Seeking
to vanish in the water, O Sübe'etey,
will you not become a great net,
And haul them out? I sent you . . . »
.

Camuka, who had fought on the side of the Naymans in the wars against the Merkits, had lost his entire tribe and, having split off with just five companions, had taken refuge in the Tanglu Mountains as a fugitive. There, whilst they were roasting a wild sheep over the fire and sitting down to eat, Camuka turned to his friends and asked: 'Whose son shot this wild sheep we are eating today?'

During the meal, Camuka's five companions seized him and took him to Genghis Khan to hand him over. When Camuka was captured and taken away by his own companions, he said to his old friend Genghis Khan:

'Just as black
crows catch the
wild duck, so too
has this vile slave
betrayed his own
khan.
My friend, the Khan,
Will you use them now? Like a
grey falcon
Just as a grey
falcon catches a
grey duck, the
slave—the
servant—has
betrayed his own
khan

They have captured.
My dear friend,
Will you use them now?»

he said. In response to Camuka's words, Genghis Khan, as the ' ', declared:

'How can anyone who raises a hand against his own ruler be spared? Who would be friends with such a man? Let those who betray their own khans be wiped out along with all their descendants!' he commanded, and those who had captured and brought Camuka were immediately executed by having their heads cut off before his very eyes.

Then Genghis Khan said to Camuka: 'Today we have met face to face once more; let us be friends! "Let us be one of the two arrows on the bow," I said, yet you thought, "I have been left behind." Now, if we unite and become friends, we shall recall the forgotten and awaken those who have fallen asleep.

Even though you left me and went
away, The kindness you showed
me was great; On that day of
battle filled with death, You felt
pain, your heart ached. Even
though you left me and went
away, On that day of death face to
face, Your liver burned, your heart
ached.

When was it, I wonder?
Whilst fighting the Kereyit
people in the Kalakalcit
Desert, our father Tuğrul...
By telling me what you said, you were of great
help to me!

Then, with your words, you
shook the Nayman people
to their core, and with your
tongue you destroyed them

By telling me there that you had terrified them,
you had been of great help to me!».

Camuka replied:

‘In the old days, when I was young, by the
Korkonak stream, we ate food that was hard
to digest, we spoke words that could never
be forgotten,
And thus we became friends with my lord. At
first, even our blankets were one.
But then others came between
us, those with ill intent,
those who sowed discord.

And now that we have parted
completely: We have insulted one
another greatly. My face has grown
dark, I could not approach my friend
the khan, I never saw his warm
face, I wandered the road alone!

Now my friend extends an
invitation with kindness, inviting
me to be friends, yet
I did not become a friend!

My dear friend, today he has
Subjugated to himself, He has
united the foreign states within
his bosom.

The throne of the Khanate has been
granted to you, Vast worlds have
been laid out before you, What use
is my friendship
What use is it now?

On dark nights, Perhaps
I'll enter your dreams; In
the light of day, Perhaps
I'll enter your thoughts; I'll
trouble you. Like a louse
on your collar, Like a
stitch in your trousers, I'm
surplus to requirements, I
say.

I've had many wives,
But because my thoughts strayed from my friend's,
Injustice arose from me.
Now, today, in this world,
Both our names have
become famous,
Spreading from the east
of the sun To the very
west. You were born
brave from a wise mother,
Your brothers are skilled,
Your men are skilled,
The number of horses was seventy-three at
the start, For this reason, you defeated me in
battle.

As for me: I had no brother; my mother
and father
had abandoned me when I was young .
My wife was a chatterbox, my friends
were untrustworthy,
God gave you strength, I was defeated and left alone

If you were to flatter me,
my friend, and have me
killed quickly, you would
soothe your friend's
heart.

If you are to have mercy and have me killed, my lady,
My plea to you is this: let not my blood flow. After I am dead,
My death there, upon the high cliffs,
Over a long time,
From generation to generation,
He will be your
protector, and pray for
you!
I was born into a noble family, but one even nobler—Temüjin—defeated me. Do not forget the words I have spoken; now you must finish the job soon.

In response to Camuka's words, Genghis Khan said: 'Although our friend Camuka has parted ways with us and spoken ill of us, we have heard nothing to suggest he intended to take our lives. He is a man from whom much can be learnt. However, he no longer wishes to live. Although we consulted the stars regarding his death, the dice did not fall in our favour. It would not be right for me to take his life without a valid reason. He is a great figure. Therefore, tell him the following as the reason: Once upon a time, when Coçi, Darmala and Tayçar stole each other's herds, you, Camuka, started a fight unjustly and then, following me into the Dalan-Balcut battle, cornered me at the Cerene Pass and frightened me terribly, did you not? Now, even though I wish to make you my friend once more, you refuse. Even though I wish to spare your life, you do not desire it. In that case, I shall now have you killed according to your own will, without spilling your blood!' Having said this, Genghis Khan:
'Kill him without shedding his blood, but do not cast his body into any random place; bury him properly!' he commanded, and had him executed and his body buried.

Thus, the subjugation of all the tribes was completed.
In the year 1206 of the Persian calendar, all these peoples gathered at the mouth of the Onan River

and held a great assembly, where they raised their nine-parted banners and proclaimed ‘Genghis Khan’ as ‘Khan’ 20•

Above (see p. 31), we mentioned that Temüjin was chosen as ruler in 1196 under the title of ‘Genghis Khan’, but we noted that this was not yet a definitive victory. For at that time, Genghis Khan ruled only a small part of Mongolia, and there were others who sought to advance along this path. Genghis Khan’s greatest rivals were Tughrul, the ruler of the Kereyits—who had once been bound to him by ties of friendship—and Jamuka of the Jadarans. Genghis Khan sometimes acted in alliance with Tughrul and Jamuka against a common enemy, and at other times joined forces with Tughrul against Jamuka. However, in the end, both Tughrul and Jamuka abandoned Genghis Khan and united with the aim of eliminating him, thus initiating a life-and-death struggle between them.

Genghis Khan, who was superior to his rivals in every respect, emerged victorious from these battles and, as seen above, the conflict came to an end with the deaths of Tughril and Jamuka. Cen-

---

l20) The titles used in *The Secret History of the Mongols* (Han, CKanl, Kahan, Ka'an, Kağan, Hakan) are found in Turkish, as well as in other languages such as , , and Altay

.

However, the distinction in rank and status between these terms ‘Han’ and ‘Kağan’—that is, which denotes a higher rank—is not clearly understood. In some works on Old Turkic, it is stated: ‘In terms of rank or status, the term “Han” is lower than “Kağan”’

Although this idea has been put forward, it remains to be proven. There is no clarity on this matter in *The Secret History of the Mongols* either, as follows:

The Mongolian text of the sentence regarding Genghis Khan’s first election as ruler in 1196 reads: Temüjin Çinggis Khaan nereyitçü Kan bolkaba ‘They named Temüjin as Genghis Khan and made him Khan’

*C§ 1231. Regarding the election held after he became the ruler of all Mongolia in 1206, it is stated as follows: *Çinggis Kahan-a Kan nere tende ökbe* ‘The title of Khan was conferred upon Çinggis Kahan there’

(§ 1.02).

Genghis Khan thus became the sole ruler of all Mongolia, and following the election held in 1196, he was proclaimed 'Khan' once again in 1206.

The Mongol nation was organised there. Genghis Khan declared: 'Now, as I organise the thousand-man units, I wish to appoint as thousand-man commanders those who worked together in the founding of the nation, thereby expressing my gratitude!' In this manner, the number of thousand-man commanders appointed by Genghis Khan from within the Great Horde reached ninety-five. Genghis Khan summoned the commanders one by one to his presence, paid them compliments, and, recounting their services to their faces, praised and thanked them.

Genghis Khan appointed Shigi-Kutuku, one of the captains, as head of the high court, and said: 'The division of the people and the court's decisions shall be recorded and bound in the "Kökö dehten" (Blue Book). The principles established by Şigi-Kutuku, following consultation with me and recorded in blue ink on white paper in the form of a register, shall be passed down from generation to generation; let no one alter them, and let those who attempt to do so be punished. 'Punish thieves throughout the nation, eradicate falsehood, execute those deserving of the death penalty, and collect fines from those deemed worthy of a monetary penalty!'

IX

THE ORGANISATION OF MILITARY AND ADMINISTRATIVE AFFAIRS. THE EXPANSION OF THE GUARD UNITS.

(§ 209–229)

Genghis Khan appointed all those who had helped found the nation alongside him and worked tirelessly with him as captains, placing them at the head of the companies; he also appointed lieutenants and sergeants. He established regiments and appointed their commanders. He issued the following order regarding the commanders of the regiments and companies:

'In the past, I had only an eighty-strong night watch unit and a seventy-strong day guard unit. Now, having been strengthened by the power granted by the Almighty God and the grace of heaven and earth, and having united the entire nation under a single administration, I hereby order that men be selected from every thousand and sent to my day guard unit. When selecting men for the guard unit and sending them, you may send the sons of both division commanders and captains, or even commoners. However, to perform their duties well, they must be capable and physically imposing. The captains' sons should come accompanied by one of their younger brothers and ten men in their retinue. The sons of captains should come accompanied by one of their younger brothers and five men. The sons of sergeants and common soldiers should come accompanied by one of their younger brothers and three men each. They shall provide their own animals from their own units. Those who are to serve with us must be well-fed. Ten men each shall be selected from the companies and platoons and assigned to the sons of the majors. They shall be provided with provisions from the supplies given to them by their fathers and from the men they have themselves recruited.

and, in addition to the horses, assistance shall be provided as determined by law. Five men shall be assigned to the sons of captains, and three men to the sons of corporals and common soldiers. However, in this instance too, apart from the revenues from service, the shares due to them shall be set aside'. The following had been added to Genghis Khan's order :

'Commanders of thousands, hundreds and tens, and the rank-and-file, shall be punished if they show disobedience after this order has been issued. If, among the soldiers serving as guards with us, there are those who shirk their duties, show reluctance, or become unable to perform their duties, others shall be appointed in their place, and the guilty parties shall be exiled to a distant land as punishment. Let no obstacle be placed in the way of those who come to us of their own volition to serve!"

On Genghis Khan's orders, the process of selecting men for the thousand-man units began, and in accordance with the decree, the sons of the captains and sergeants were identified as those to be sent. Previously, the number of night watchmen had been only eighty. This was subsequently increased to eight hundred, and by the latest decree, they were organised into thousand-man units. Genghis Khan appointed Yeke-Ne'ürin as a captain and placed him in command of the guard unit . Prior to this, Yesün-Te'e, the son of Celme, had been appointed commander of the four hundred selected archers, and Bugiday, the son of Tüge, had been assigned as his deputy. Now, regarding the reorganisation of the mounted archers and the day guard units, Genghis Khan issued the following order: 'Yesün-Te'e shall be the commander of one unit of mounted archers, Bugiday shall be the commander of one unit of mounted archers, Horkudak shall be the commander of one unit of mounted archers, and Lab-Laka shall be the commander of another unit of mounted archers . When the Okluk is raised, they shall take their posts in turn, just like the daily guards. The number of archers shall be increased to a thousand, and Yesün-Te'e shall be their commander."

The day guard unit, which had previously been established and operated under the command of Ögele-Çerbi, has now been expanded to a thousand-strong force and placed once again under the command of Ögele-Çerbi, a descendant of Bo'orçu

...was appointed. Buka, a descendant of Mukali, became commander of another unit of the Day Guards. Alçiday, a descendant of İlügey, became commander of yet another unit of the Day Guards. Dö· dey-Çerbi became commander of another unit of the Day Guards. Dokolku-Çerbi became commander of another unit of the Day Guards. Çanay, from the lineage of Cürcedey, was appointed commander of yet another unit of the Day Guards. Akutay, from the lineage of Alçi, was appointed commander of yet another unit of the Day Guards. Arkay-Kasar was appointed commander of another guard regiment composed of selected warriors. This company would form a contingent of warriors who would participate in guard duties during times of peace and take their place on the front line in times of war. Thus, eight daytime guard companies were formed from forces gathered from various units. The night guards and the archers also formed two companies. Consequently, the combined strength of all the guard units reached that of a division (ten thousand). Regarding these, Genghis Khan declared: 'This guard force (the elite regiment) gathered around our person must be well-trained and disciplined, and form the core of the army!'

Thereafter, Genghis Khan appointed commanders to the four units transferred from the day guard to the personal guard and issued the following order: 'Buka shall command the first guard unit and shall stand watch with this unit. Alçiday shall command the second guard unit and shall stand watch with this unit. Dödey-Çerbi shall command the third guard unit and stand watch with this unit. Dokolku shall command the fourth guard company and stand watch with this company." Having thus appointed the commanders of the four companies, he spoke as follows regarding the conduct of the watch duty: "The officer on duty shall take full charge of the guard company assigned to him, proceed to his post, and be relieved after three days. If any of the guards fails to attend roll call, he shall be punished with three strokes of the cane. If the same person fails to attend roll call a second time, he shall be punished with seven strokes of the cane.

He shall be punished. Furthermore, should the same man, without being ill or having obtained permission from the company commander, fail to attend roll call for a third time, he shall be punished by thirty-seven strokes of the cane. Thereafter, as this man is unworthy of serving in our ranks, he shall be banished to a remote region. In addition to this order, the following was announced: 'Regimental commanders shall, every three days, during the changing of the guard , convey this order to the guard regiments . Regimental commanders who neglect to convey this order shall be punished. Those who disobey the order after it has been communicated, or who are absent during roll call, shall be punished in accordance with the order.

« Unit commanders shall ensure that the guards under their command,

"Let them not rebuke us without our knowledge, crying 'My lord!' Let those who act in violation of the law report them directly to us. If their crime warrants beheading, we shall behead them; if it warrants a reprimand, we shall reprimand them. 'If you interfere with our guards by shouting "Superior!", or strike them with your hands, feet or a stick, you shall be punished with a stick for every blow you strike and a fist for every punch you throw.'

Then Genghis Khan issued the following order: 'My guards shall be considered superior to the captains outside. Those under their command shall also be considered superior to the captains and sergeants outside. If the commanders of the outer regiments place themselves on the same level as my guards and fight against them, these men— — from the outer regiments shall be punished

.

Thereupon, Genghis Khan issued the following order to be conveyed to the officers of the guard unit assigned to the watch: 'Once the musketeers and day guards have taken their posts and performed their duties, they shall hand over their positions to the night guards before sunset and spend the night outdoors. Night watchmen shall be stationed around us during the night. The swordsmen shall hand over their weapons and the cooks their kitchen utensils before withdrawing—

<lir. The musketeers, day guards and cooks who have spent the night outside will gather near the backgammon board whilst we are having our morning soup; after meeting the night guards, they will take over the watch. After the morning soup, the musketeers will return to their weapons, the day guards to their posts, and the cooks to the kitchen. The handover of the watch will take place in this manner every time.

«Anyone found wandering behind the barracks or on the road in front of them after sunset will be arrested, held in custody with the night sentries, and brought before the court in the morning. When the night sentries change shifts, those handing over the watch shall only leave their posts after taking the prisoner's statement and drawing up a report . When taking over the night watch, the night sentries shall only take their positions after a handover report has been drawn up. The night sentries shall keep watch around the barracks at night. The gate sentries shall behead or strike at the shoulders of anyone attempting to enter through the gate at night, and shall cast their bodies aside. Should anyone arrive with urgent news, they shall explain the situation to the sentry and wait behind the house with the sentry until orders are received. No one shall sit in a higher position than the night sentry, nor shall anyone enter without informing them. No one shall loiter near the sentries, no one shall pass between them, and no one shall ask about their numbers. The sentries shall detain those who pass between them; if anyone asks about their numbers, they shall seize the horses of such intruders along with their saddles and confiscate the clothes they are wearing.

X

THE ORGANISATION OF GUARD AND SERVICE DUTIES. THE VOLUNTARY SUBMISSION OF THE KARLUKS AND UIGHURS. EASTERN AND WESTERN CAMPAIGNS. THE MURDER OF THE SHAMAN KÖKÖÇÜ.

(§ 230–246)

Genghis Khan issued the following order regarding the duties of the night and day guards: 'The night guards shall watch over the ladies of the palace, the young men of the palace, the camel herdsmen and the ox herdsmen, and shall guard the courtyard of the palace. Banners, drums, spears and kitchen utensils shall also be kept under their supervision. They shall also look after our food and drink

They will supervise the cooking of the fresh meat. Should food and drink be required, these will be requested from the night guards. The guards will not act without the night guards' knowledge whilst distributing food and drink, and will begin with the night guards when serving meals. They will also regulate entry to and exit from the palace. One night watchman shall stand guard at the foot of the gate, and two others shall be stationed at the large wine barrel. One night watchman shall also be assigned to the organisation of the quarters. When we go out to hunt animals or birds, half of the night watchmen shall accompany us, whilst the other half shall remain at the camp.

«When we do not go on a campaign [illegible], the night guards shall not go with the army, separating from us. After the publication of this order, no commander or other officer shall, out of malice towards the night guards, join the army and go to the battlefield—

Anyone who acts in defiance of orders by forcing them into battle will be punished. The night guards shall never be sent into battle. For they protect my precious life, share the hardships with me in the company of animals and birds, and are responsible for maintaining order amongst the caravans during both movement and rest, whilst ensuring the safety of the palace gates. Is it easy to keep watch over my person all night long? Is it easy to maintain order in the tented camp during a great migration or at rest? As they are so heavily burdened with such arduous tasks here and there, no other military duties shall be assigned to them.

'Alongside Shigi-Kutuku, men will be assigned from the night guards for judicial matters, and these will participate in judicial investigations. A section of the night guards will assist in the safekeeping and distribution of bows, arrows, armour and weapons. They will also supervise the loading of the horses and mules. Some of the night guards will also assist the caravans whilst distributing silk."

«As for the positions of the musketeers and the day guards ; the musketeers under the command of Yesünte and Bukiday, and the day guards under the command of Alçiday, Ögöle and Akutay, shall be stationed on the right side of the palace. The day guards under the command of Buka, Dödey-Çerbi, Dokolku-Çerbi and Çanay will be stationed on the left side of the palace. Arkay's brave warriors will be positioned in front of the palace and the night guards responsible for the palace carriage will also be stationed on the left side of the palace. Dödey - Çerbi will supervise all the day and night sentries, the palace servants around the palace, the horse herdsmen near the palace, and the herdsmen of sheep, camels and oxen. Dödey - Çerbi will be present there at all times.

Kublai Noyan was sent against the Karluk tribe, one of the Turkic tribes. However, no battle took place here, as the Karluk ruler, Arslan-Khan, voluntarily submitted to Kublai. Kublai Noyan

yan took Arslan Khan with him and presented him to Genghis Khan . As war had been averted, Genghis Khan, paying him a compliment, said he would give him his daughter.

Sube'etey, with his iron-clad chariots, caught up with the sons of Kutu and Çila—and the others, and annihilated them near the Chuy River before returning.

Cebe pursued the Nayman leader Güçülük-Han, caught up with him near Sarık-Kun, annihilated him there, and returned.

The Uyghur ruler Idu'ut (I· duk-Kut) sent the following message to Genghis Khan in 1209 via his envoys At-Kırak and Da:rbay:

As if the clouds have dispersed
Our mother the sun has reappeared, As if the
ice has melted
And the waters of the river have returned,

Genghis Khan's name and fame have brought us joy. Does Genghis Khan command me?

A single thread from his golden sash,
A scrap of fabric from his robe

'I wonder if they might grant me the same favour? As your fifth son, I wish to devote all my strength to you!' Genghis Khan, greatly pleased by these words, replied: 'I wish to give him my daughter and make him my fifth son. Let Idu'ut come here with gold and silver, large and small pearls, brocade, damask and silk fabrics!' Idu'ut was overjoyed to have received such a favour and, taking his gold and silver, his large and small pearls, his silk fabrics, and his brocade and damask fabrics, he came and presented himself before Genghis Khan. Genghis Khan took him under his protection and gave him his daughter, Al-Altun.

In the Year of the Rabbit, 1207, Coçi was sent with the right-wing army against the Forest peoples. Buka was leading the way as a guide.

Kuduka-Beki of the Oyrats, together with ten thousand Oyrat people, submitted to Chochi of their own volition. After the Oyrats, Buryats, Barkuns, Ursuts, Kabkanas, Kangkas and Tuibals had submitted, Chochi went to the place where ten thousand Kyrgyz were gathered. The Kyrgyz commanders Yedi, Inal, Aldi'er and Önbek-Tigin came before Coçi of their own accord and presented him with a white falcon, a white horse and a black sable as gifts. After subjugating the forest peoples residing on this side—namely Şilbir, K!esdiyin, Bayit, Tukas, Tenlek, Tö'eles, Taslan and the Bacigids—Coçi returned, taking with him the Kyrgyz commanders of the regiments and companies, as well as the commanders of the forest peoples. He presented them to Genghis Khan along with the white falcons, white horses and black sables. Genghis Khan summoned the Oirat Kuduk-Beki to his side and, because he had been the first to submit with ten thousand Oirats, granted Checheyigen to his son Inalchi, and to Inalchi's elder brother, Töre1chi, he gave Coçi's daughter, Koluy-Kan; he also gave Alaka-Beki to Önggüt. Then Genghis Khan praised Coçi with these words: 'You are the eldest of my sons; although this was your first time leaving home, you have travelled the right path. You have returned successfully, having subjugated the forest peoples without losing a single man or animal in foreign lands. I entrust this people to you!'

Boro'ul Noyan was then sent against the Tumat people. Following the death of Daydukul-Sokor, the leader of the Tumat people, his wife Botokuy-Tarkun had been ruling over them. He advanced into their territory at the head of his force, accompanied by three men. Thus, whilst travelling through the dense forest at night, Boro'ul Noyan was ambushed and killed by the enemy's security detachment. Genghis Khan was furious that Boro'ul had been killed by the Tumat and wanted to take action himself. However, Bo'orçu and Mukali pleaded with him and prevented him from going. Upon this, Genghis Khan appointed Dörbetli Dörbey-Dokşin to handle the matter. Dörbey-Dokşin brought the matter to a successful conclusion and brought the Tumat people under his control.

Münglik of the l<;ongkotan tribe had seven sons. Of these seven sons, Köıköçü—whose name was —was a sorcerer and bore the title Te'b-Teng-geri. One day, these seven young men had, for some reason, beaten Genghis Khan's brother, Kasar. Upon this, Kasar went to Genghis Khan to complain about their actions. However, as he had arrived at a time when Genghis Khan was in a rage, Genghis Khan said to him: 'You were a man who had never been defeated in your life; how is it that you have now been defeated?' At these words, Kasar left in tears, and was so overcome with grief that he did not show himself for three days. During that time, Teb-Teng-geri also came to Genghis Khan and said: 'When Mengü God conveys His command to me, sometimes He says, "Let Temücin rule the state of ," and at other times He says, "Let Kasar do this." If you do not act before Kasar, I cannot guarantee what will happen!'

Upon hearing this, Genghis Khan mounted his horse that very night and set out to capture Krasar. Major Güçü and Major Kököçü went to Genghis's mother and informed her that he had set out with the intention of capturing Kasar. As soon as his mother heard this, she set off that very night, riding a white camel, and travelling all night long, she caught up with Temüjin as the sun was rising. Just then, Genghis Khan was preparing to interrogate Kasar, having had his arms bound and his hat and belt removed. When Genghis Khan saw his mother arrive, he trembled with fear. His mother alighted from the carriage in a great rage, had Kasar's arms unbound, and thrust his hat and belt back into his hands. Her mother, Hö'elün-Ücin, was so enraged that she could not contain her fury; she sat down on the ground, bared her breasts, spread them across her knees, and said the following:

'Do you see? These are the breasts you suckled from! As the old saying goes, you are men who bite your own womb and tear off your own navel! What did Kasar do? Temüjin could drain just one of these breasts. Kaçi'un and Otçigin, however, could not even drain a single one. Whereas Kasar would soothe me by suckling both my breasts until they were empty, opening and expanding my chest. For this reason, Te-

mücin became strong in mind and Kasar in body.

> He subdues those fleeing
> from battle by shooting
> arrows, and defeats those
> fleeing in fear by shooting
> from a distance.

Now Kasar, 'defeated the enemies' 1, is envying me—
'What?' – Finally, Genghis Khan, seeking to appease his mother, said: 'Mother, I was very afraid and ashamed that I had angered you. Let us put this matter aside and go home!' And having made peace with one another, they all returned together. However, Temüjin, without informing his mother, took back Kasar's men and left him with only one thousand four hundred men. When his mother learnt of this, she was deeply distressed, and these events wore her down. Cebke of Calayır, one of the captains under Kasar's command, fled in fear and sought refuge with the Barkucins.

Following this incident, peoples belonging to nine linguistic groups began to gather around Teb-Tenggeri. Many of those working in Genghis Khan's stables also went there. Some of Temüge-Otchigin's men also attended this gathering. Otchigin-Noyan sent a man named Sokor to summon back the men who had gone there; however, Teb-Tenggeri, addressing Sokor, who had come as an envoy, said: 'You and Otchigin have both become envoys!' and, having him beaten on the back, sent him back on foot. Upon the humiliating return of his envoy, the following day Otçigin himself went to Teb-Tenggeri and said: 'Although I sent Sokor to you, you have insulted him and sent him back on foot. Now I have come myself to retrieve my men.' Upon this, the seven Kongko-tan surrounded him and began to threaten him, asking: 'Were you right to send Sokor as an envoy?' Fearing he would be beaten and imprisoned, Otçigin-Noyan said: 'Yes, I was wrong to send you men.' Upon this, the seven Kongko-tan:
'Since you were in the wrong, then get down on your knees and beg for forgiveness!' they said, forcing him to prostrate himself behind Teb-Tenggeri, yet they did not return his men.

Otçigin, early the next day, before Genghis Khan had even risen from his bed, appeared before him and, kneeling, recounted the incident through tears: 'When the peoples of the Nine Tribes began to gather around Teb-Tenggeri, I had sent a man named Sokor to recall my own men. However, they rebuked Sokor and sent him back on foot, striking him on the back. Upon this, when I went myself to retrieve my men, the seven Kongkotan surrounded him on all sides and forced him to kneel at the foot of Telb-Tenggeri to beg for forgiveness." Weeping, he spoke these words.

Before Genghis Khan could even begin to speak, Börte sat up in her bed and sat down, covering her chest with the edges of her quilt. When she saw that Otchigin was truly weeping, she too began to weep and said: 'What on earth is the matter with these Kongkots? Only a short while ago, they attacked in a mob and beat Kasar; how is it that now they are forcing Ot-çigin to kneel behind them? What sort of business is this? In this way, they will surely destroy your brothers, who are as sturdy as cypress and pine. Indeed, a little later

> Your body, resembling a tall tree,
> When the day comes that it lies on
> the ground, To whom will they
> entrust this nation, Resembling a
> vine? Your body, resembling a pillar,
> If the day comes that it topples, To
> whom will they entrust this nation,
> Resembling birds?

'These men, who treat your brothers— —who resemble cypresses and pines in this manner, how can they hand over the state to my three or four young ones, who are growing up as best they can? The Kongkotan people are precisely such men! How can you endure this treatment of your brothers in silence?'

Genghis Khan said to Otchigin: ‘Now, when Teb-Tenggeri arrives, I give you permission to treat him as you see fit!’ Upon hearing this, Otchigin wiped away his tears, stood up, and left. Before Teb-Tenggeri arrived, he had three strong men brought in and secretly stationed them to one side.

A short while later, Münglik-Eçige entered with his seven sons. No sooner had Teb-Tenggeri sat down to the right of the wine cask than Otçiğin grabbed him by the collar and, saying, ‘Only yesterday you forced me to beg your forgiveness; now let’s test each other!’, began to drag him towards the door. Teb-Tenggeri also grabbed hold of his collar, and they began to grapple. During this struggle, Münglik-Eçige bent down, picked up Teb-Tenggeri’s hat which had fallen to the ground, sniffed it, and then tucked it into his bosom. When Genghis Khan said, ‘Go outside and test each other’s strength there!’, Otçiğin dragged Teb-Tenggeri out through the door. At that moment, three strong men whom Otçiğin had previously hidden behind the door seized Teb-Tenggeri; after dragging him out, they broke his spine and threw him beside the carts on the left side of the courtyard. A short while later, Otçiğin entered and said: ‘Teb-Tenggeri forced me to beg for forgiveness only yesterday. Today, even though I invited him to wrestle, he refuses and lies on the ground. It seems he is a worthless fellow too!” Upon hearing these words, Münglik-Eçige immediately understood the situation and, weeping, said:

Yağız’s land
Even when it was no bigger than a
patch of earth, The great sea
‘Even before I was a year old,

‘I had become friends with the Lady,’ he said. As he spoke, his other six sons lined up by the door and, with their arms outstretched, surrounded the hearth. Realising he was being cornered, Genghis Khan began to fear and shouted, ‘Make way, I’m leaving!’ and rushed out. The swordsmen and day guards outside—

surrounded him. When Genghis Khan saw that Teb-Tenggeri was lying in a corner beside the carriages with his spine broken , he had a tent pitched over him and said:
·Harness the horses, we are leaving this place!' he ordered. Upon this, they abandoned the place and moved on to another location.

The tent erected over Teb-Tenggeri had its windows shuttered, its door covered, and sentries posted around it. Despite this, it is said that at dawn on the third day, the tent's window opened and Teb's body rose of its own accord and vanished. In this account,Genghis Khan remarked: 'Since Teb-Tenggeri laid hands on my brothers and, without cause, sowed discord amongst my brothers— —God did not favour him; He took his soul along with his body.' He then spoke harshly to Münglik-Eçige, saying: 'You could not control the character of your sons. They, however, by regarding themselves as my equals, were the cause of Teb Tenggeri's death. Had I known you were of such character, I would have treated you in the same manner as I treated Camuka, Altan, Kuçar and their companions." But then he added: "

'He who forgets in the evening what was said in the morning,
.Who forgets what was said in the evening by morning

should be ashamed. Promises made in the past do not change. Therefore, overcoming my anger, I forgive you. If you had controlled yourselves, who could have matched the lineage of Münglik-Eçiğe?' After the destruction of Teb-Tenggeri, the Kongkotan people were subdued.

XI

THE INVASION OF NORTHERN CHINA. THE SEVEN-YEAR GREAT WESTERN CAMPAIGN. THE CONQUEST OF TURKESTAN AND RUSSIA.

(§ 247–264)

Genghis Khan launched a campaign against the Kitat people in the year 1211. He captured Fuceo. After crossing the Fox Pass and capturing Süan-dei-Fu, he sent Cebe and Güyi-Günek-Bahadır ahead as advance guards. When they reached the Çabçiyal Pass, they saw that it was well-defended. At that point, Cebe said: 'I shall lure them out by trickery and set them in motion. Once they've emerged, we'll attack them!' Upon their retreat, the Kitan army, wishing to pursue them, left their positions and filled all the mountains and valleys. However, upon reaching the Suan-dei-Fu bend, Cebe suddenly changed his front and attacked the enemy, who were advancing in a long column. Genghis Khan, who was following in pursuit with his main force, also attacked the Kitan here and annihilated the enemy units composed of the Kara-Kitan, the Jurchet and the Cuyin, so that the enemy forces lay scattered across the ground like a felled forest all the way to Çabçiyal. After capturing the Çabçiyal Pass and crossing the hills, Genghis Khan established his camp at Şira-Deiktür. From there, an attack was launched on Cung-du (Peking), and forces were also dispatched to besiege various towns and cities. Ce-be marched towards the city of Dung-cang; as he approached Dung-cang,

He was unable to capture the city by assault and retreated. However, after a six-day retreat, he suddenly changed his strategy and, having each soldier take only one spare horse, marched back to the city under duress and easily captured it by surprise. Celbe Dung ..

returning after taking Cang, he joined forces with the main army under the command of Genghis Khan.

During the siege of Dung-cang, Ongging-çingsiang, the chief minister of the Kitan ruler Al-tan-Han, had made the following proposal to Al-tan-Han: 'Has the time come, by the command of heaven and earth, for the Great Throne to change hands? The Mongols have appeared with great forces and have defeated our elite troops, composed of the Kara-Kitan, Jurchet and Cuyin, as if to annihilate them. They have also taken Çabçiyal, our fortified stronghold. If we now organise our army and go to war, and are defeated by the Mongols once more, this time our forces will scatter to various cities. After that, these units will cease to cooperate with us and will turn against us. If Altan Khan so commands, let us enter into peace negotiations with the Mongol Khan for the time being. If they accept our proposal and withdraw, we may then reach another decision. It is reported that the Mongols themselves and their livestock cannot endure the climate here. Contagious diseases have also begun to spread among them. Let us give a princess to their khan and distribute large quantities of gold, silver, silk and other goods to their soldiers. Who knows, perhaps they will accept our offer.

Atan-Han found Ongging-Çingsiang's words acceptable and, saying, 'Very well, so be it!', it was decided to commence peace negotiations with the Mongols. Ongging-Çingsiang, having taken a princess named Güngcü for Genghis Khan, along with gold, silver, silk and jewels to be distributed among the Mongol soldiers, set out from Cung'du (Peking) to present himself before Genghis Khan.

Genghis Khan. Genghis Khan accepted this peace proposal and withdrew, having gathered the troops he had sent to besiege various cities. Ongging-Çingsiang accompanied Genghis Khan as far as the foot of the mountains named Moceo and Fuceo before returning. The Mongol soldiers took as much silk and goods as they wished, even tying their loads with silk, and withdrew.

After this campaign, Genghis Khan marched against the people of Kashin. As he drew near, Burkan, the ruler of Kashin, sent word to Genghis Khan saying, 'I wish to be your right-hand man!' and, presenting him with a princess named Çaka, declared his intention to submit to him. Burkan Khan added: 'We have long feared Genghis Khan's fame. Now, however, we tremble before his majestic presence. We, the Tangut people, are ready to devote our strength to you as your right-hand man. This is how we intend to proceed:

Our encampment is fixed,
and as our homes are made of

mud-brick, when we submit to you:

In swift attacks
And fierce battles We
cannot keep up with
you, In a gruelling
battle
We cannot support you.

If Genghis Khan commands, we Tanguts:

We gather camels, and
send them to your
command. We weave cloth
from wool, and weave silk
fabrics, and send them to
your command.
We rear game birds, select
the best,
and send them to you.

Having said this, Burkan gathered all the camels belonging to the Tangut people, leaving not a single one behind, and took them to Genghis Khan to present them to him.

During this campaign, which took place in the year 1211, Genghis Khan subjugated Akutay Altan Khan, ruler of the Kitat people, and Iluku-Burkan, ruler of the Tangut people, before returning to his homeland and establishing his camp in the Sa'ari steppe.

Following this incident, envoys had been sent to the Cao-gons under Cubkan's command. As the Kitan ruler Akutay Altan Khan detained them, Genghis Khan declared: 'Although they have made peace with us, how is it that they are holding the envoys we sent to the Cao-gons?' and in 1214, he declared war on the Kitan people once more.

Whilst Genghis Khan himself was marching towards the Tung-gon Pass, he once again sent Cebe to Çabçiyal. Upon hearing that Genghis Khan was marching towards the Tung-gon Pass, Altan Khan placed his army under the command of three commanders named İle, Kada and Höbögetür. 'Block the pass with your troops! Place the Hula'an-Degelen in the front line and do not let the enemy through the pass!' he ordered, driving his army forward in a forced march. When the Mongols reached the Tung-gon Pass, the Kitan also arrived and took up position there, shouting 'Homeland!' and commencing the battle. Genghis Khan, fighting against the three enemy commanders named Ile, Kada and Höbögetür, cornered Ile and Kada. Toluy, one of Genghis Khan's commanders, and his son-in-law Çüğü attacked from the flanks. They forced the Hula'an-Degelen to retreat. They then attacked Ile and Kada, defeating them as well, and laid the Kitan forces low like a felled forest, annihilating them. Upon hearing that the Kitan army had been destroyed, Altan Khan abandoned Cung-du and moved to the city of Nanjing. The remaining Kitan soldiers also perished from starvation.

Genghis Khan, who had initially settled at Ho-si-vu, later established his camp at Şira-Ke'er, near Cung-du. Cebe captured the Çabçi-yal Pass, then joined Genghis Khan with his troops.

When Altan Khan withdrew from Cung-du (Beijing), he had left Kada there as regent (liu-şeo) prior to his departure. Genghis Khan sent Önggür-Ba'urçi, Arkay-Kasar and Şigi-Kutuku to Cung-du to ascertain the quantities of gold, silver, silk and other goods there. Upon hearing of their arrival, Kada took some gold-embroidered silk fabrics with him, left Cung-du and went out to meet them. Şigi-Kutuku said to Kada: 'In the past, the wealth of this Cung-du, and Cung-du itself, undoubtedly belonged to Altan Khan. But now Cung-du belongs to Genghis Khan. How dare you attempt to give away Genghis Khan's property and silks as gifts? I will not accept it!' However, Önggür-Ba'urçi and Arkay-Kasar both accepted them. After determining the amount of property and possessions in Cung-du, they returned. When Genghis Khan asked them, 'What did Kada give you?', Şigi-Kutuku replied, 'He brought us gold-embroidered silk brocades, but I refused them, saying, "This city of Cung-du once belonged to Altan Khan, but now it belongs to Genghis Khan. How is it that you are giving us these as gifts by taking Genghis Khan's goods and silk? I did not accept them." Önggür and Arkay accepted these gifts that were presented to them," he replied. Upon this, Genghis Khan severely reprimanded Önggür and Arkay. But to Şigi-Kutuku he said: "You have shown loyalty to the great law!"

> 'Be my eyes to see, and my ears to hear!'

he said, paying him a compliment.

After Altan Khan arrived in Nanjing, he declared his intention to submit and seek peace, and sent his son Tenggeri to Genghis Khan. He also sent a hundred soldiers, along with his son, to serve in Genghis Khan's daytime guard unit. Upon their voluntary submission, Genghis Khan withdrew once more and returned to his homeland via Chabchiyal . At this time, with the following orders , he dispatched Kasar along the coast at the head of the left-wing army: 'Besiege the city of Beijing. Once you have taken this city,

‘March through the territory of Fuhano of Cürced. If Fuhano puts up a fight, attack him. If he submits, pass by his border towns, move along the rivers Ula, Na’u and Ta’ur, and return to our main camp to join us!’ The commanders Cürçedey, Alçi and Tolun were also sent along with Kasar.

After capturing the city of Beijing, Kasar subdued Fuhano of Cürced. He then captured the cities along the route, returned along the Ta’ur River, and arrived at the main camp.

After the campaign in Northern China was successfully completed, before setting out on the western campaign, there was an open discussion and debate within the family regarding who would succeed Genghis Khan. This discussion arose because, whilst preparing to set out on the campaign, Yesüy-Hatun had offered Genghis Khan some advice with the following words: ‘My lord,

wish to cross high
mountains, cross deep
waters, embark on a long
campaign, and keep your
great nation

in order. Yet no living being is eternal.

If your body, like a tall tree, Should
one day fall to the ground, Your
people, like vines, Whose command
would you place them under? If your
body, like a tall pillar, Should one
day topple over, Your people, like
birds.
To whom would you wish to entrust it?

‘Which of your four sons—each a hero in his own right—would you like me to mention by name? With these words, I have set forth the matters that ought to be considered for your sons, your brothers, your followers, and us poor folk; the decision is yours,’ he said.

Genghis Khan replied: ‘Although Yesüy is a woman, she has spoken the truest words. Neither my brothers, nor my sons, nor Bo’orçu, nor Mukali—none of you had ever put forward such an idea. Indeed, I myself had forgotten, as if I did not know,

> I had forgotten, as if I did not
> know I would follow my
> ancestors; I had slept, as if I did
> not know I would die when death
> came,”

he said, and turning to his eldest son, he asked: ‘Coçi, you are the eldest of my sons; what do you say?’ Before Coçi could speak, Ça’aday interjected, and thus a heated argument ensued among the brothers; however, in the end, the matter was settled by deciding on Genghis Khan’s third son, Ögödey (Oktay).

The rapid rise of Genghis Khan’s empire was of great concern to the Khwarezmian Empire in the west. Alaeddin (Kutbeddin) Mehmed (1200–1220) of the Khwarezmian dynasty sent an embassy to Genghis Khan to ascertain his position. Genghis Khan received this delegation, which arrived during his campaign in China, in Beijing, and during the meeting he said: ‘The prosperity of the world depends on trade. Therefore, let us develop our commercial relations.’ After that, Genghis Khan also sent an envoy to Alaeddin. Sultan Alaeddin received these envoys in Maveraünnehir in 1218, whilst returning from Baghdad. After praising the Sultan’s achievements through his envoys, Genghis Khan went on to explain that he had also conquered neighbouring countries and the Chinese Empire. Addressing Alaeddin as ‘my dearest son’, he expressed his desire for trade routes between the two countries to remain open and for friendship to prevail.

Genghis Khan, who brought Turkic tribes such as the Karluk, Uyghur and Kyrgyz under his rule through peaceful means, attached great importance to cooperation with the Muslim Turkic world; he summoned Turkic experts to assist in the establishment and development of his state, and Mo-

and Turks without distinction, assigning them duties in political affairs as well. Indeed, the diplomatic mission sent to Alaeddin Meh-med in 1218 consisted entirely of Turks, with not a single Mongol among them. The head of the delegation was the renowned figure Mahmud Yalvaç. Mahmud Yalvaç and his son Mesud, members of the Kurumshi family of Urgench, rendered significant assistance to Genghis Khan in many fields.

However, a second incident involving an embassy and a caravan shook the foundations of the good relations that were being established between the two states. Again in 1218, Genghis Khan sent an embassy to the Khwarezmian Empire, accompanied by a caravan of 100 people led by a man named Ukuna. Upon seeing that there were Mongols among the caravan, the governor of the border town of Otrar reported to Sultan Alaeddin that he had 'captured a caravan containing spies'. Without investigating the matter, the Sultan ordered the execution of all of them. Blinded by greed for plunder, the governor slaughtered 150 people in the caravan—distinctioning not between envoys, merchants, grooms or servants—and seized their goods. This horrific incident, which cast a dark stain on the maxim 'No harm shall come to an envoy' and has no parallel in Turkish history, paved the way for the downfall of both Alaeddin and the Khwarezmian Empire.

Having learnt of the situation from a slave who had escaped the massacre, Genghis Khan nevertheless did not wish to blame Sultan Alaeddin; instead, he sent a new delegation of envoys, demanding the surrender of the governor of Otrar, whom he believed had committed this crime without the sultan's knowledge. Sultan Alaeddin, who had no knowledge of Genghis Khan's disciplined and powerful army, and who, moreover, was unable to perceive that his own state—
was gradually crumbling, Sultan Alaeddin, regarding himself as 'the shadow of God on earth, the sword of Islam and the second Alexander', exclaims: 'How dare this infidel dog make such a demand?' He has the head of the embassy delegation killed and sends the others back to Genghis Khan with their heads shaved.

Following this final straw, there was now no alternative but war.

Genghis Khan sent word demanding that all regions and peoples under his rule take part in the campaign; alongside all the Mongol tribes, Turkic tribes such as the Kipchaks, Karliqs and Uighurs also joined the campaign, and contingents arrived from China, which was under Genghis Khan's rule. Only the Tangut ruler Burkan responded negatively to this call. However, Genghis Khan did not alter his decision regarding the western campaign, postponing any reckoning with them for later, and set out in the spring of 1219 after winter preparations were completed.

Readers may learn the details of these events and what transpired thereafter from the works listed in the bibliography. Here, we have endeavoured to present the events without taking sides in the Turkic-Mongol issue, and without omitting or altering them. In *The Secret History of the Mongols*, however, Genghis Khan's campaign in Turkestan is summarised as follows:

Following the capture and killing of a hundred-strong delegation sent by Genghis Khan under the leadership of Ukuna by the Muslims, Genghis Khan said: 'How can I allow my golden reins to be severed by the Muslims?' and, with the aim of avenging the hundred envoys under Ukuna's command, resolved to wage war against the Muslim people.

In the Year of the Rabbit, 1219, a campaign against the Muslim peoples was launched via the Aray Pass. Genghis Khan took Kulan-Katun, one of his consorts, with him. After leaving his younger brother Otchigin at the centre as commander of the main camp, he set out. He sent Cebe forward as the vanguard. Following Cebe, he sent Sübe'etey, and following Sübe'etey, he sent Tokuçar. Pushing these three commanders to the front, he gave them the following order: 'You shall circle round to the rear of the sultan and wait there until we arrive. Then you shall attack from both sides together with us!" Upon this, Cebe set off with the " " and Han Melig's " " (Herat hü-

Kümdarı Emin el-Mülk advanced by bypassing the cities without touching them. Sübe'etey followed in his wake, marching in the same manner without touching anything. However, To-kuçar, who came after them, plundered the cities of Han-Melig and took the villagers captive. Seeing his cities plundered, Han-Melig began preparations for war and, mobilising his army, joined forces with Celaleddin (Harezm Shah). Celaleddin and Han-Melig marched against Genghis Khan. Şigi-Kutuku was marching ahead as Genghis Khan's vanguard. Celaleddin and Han-Melig engaged Şigi-Kutuku in battle, defeated him, and advanced as far as Genghis Khan. However, at this point, Cebe, Sübe'etey and Tokuçar attacked from the rear and routed them. Thereafter, they pursued them as far as the Shin (Sint) River, preventing them from re-establishing a foothold in the cities of Bukar (Bukhara), Sc-misgab (Samarkand) and Udarar (Otrar). The Khwarezmian forces, driven into a corner by the Shin River, were swept into the river, and many drowned. Sultan Jalal al-Din and Khan Melig marched towards the course of the Shin River in an attempt to save themselves. Genghis Khan also moved in the same direction and captured Bat. kesen. Upon reaching the Eke-Korokan and Ge'ün-Korokan rivers, he settled in the Baru'an steppe and sent a man named Bala from the Calayir tribe in pursuit of Sultan Celaleddin and Han-Melig.

Genghis Khan, praising Cebe and Sübe'etey , said the following : 'Cebe! Your name used to be Cirko'aday. When you came to join us from the Tayçi'ut, your name became "Cebe" (weapon, armour). However, Tokuçar, by plundering the border cities of the Khan-Melig of his own accord, has caused the Khan-Melig to act hostilely towards us; for this reason, I shall bring him to trial and demand his execution!" he said. However, he did not have him killed after all; instead, he severely reprimanded him and removed him from the army .

Later, whilst returning from the Barula steppe, Genghis Khan ordered his three sons—Coçi, Ça'aday and Ögödey—to besiege the city of Ürüng-geçi (Ürgench) with the right-wing army, sending them across the Amu (Amu-derya, Jaxartes, Öküz) River. Toluy also went to Iru

(Herat), Isfahan (Nishapur) and other cities. Genghis Khan himself had settled near the city of Udarar (Otrar). When a message arrived from Coçi, Ça'aday and Ögödey stating: 'Our army has reached the city of Urgench without suffering any losses. Whose orders should we follow?', Genghis Khan replied: 'Follow Ögödey's orders!'

After Genghis Khan had captured the city of Udarar, he set out from there and arrived at the city of Semisgab (Samarkand). Setting out from Semisgab, he arrived at the city of Buhar (Bukhara). There, Genghis Khan decided to spend the summer on the Altan-Korkan (Golden Stream) plateau, which was the sultan's summer residence, and waited for Bala. He also sent word to Toluy: 'The summer heat has begun. Let the other armies settle in; you come to me!' Toluy had captured the cities of Iru (Herat) and Isabur (Nishapur), had destroyed the city of Sistan (Kuhistan), and was now engaged in fighting against the city of Chuhcheren. Upon receiving this news, Toluy first finished off the city of Chuhcheren and then returned to join Genghis Khan.

Thereafter, Genghis Khan dispatched Dörbetli Dörbey Dokshin to capture the city of Abtn, situated in the lands of the Aru (Herat), Maru (Merv) and Madasari peoples, located between the regions of Hindus and Baghdad.

Then there were the eleven tribes of Sübe'etey in the north: the Kanglin (Kankalis), Kipçaut (Kipchaks), Bacigit, Orusut (Russians), Macarat, (Magyars), Asut (Alans), Sasut, Serkesut (Circassians), Keşimir (Kishmir), Bolar (Bulgars) and Raral. He ordered them to cross the Great Volga and Cayah rivers and march as far as the cities of Kiva-Men-Kerman (Kiev) .

Once the conquest of the Muslim lands was complete, Genghis Khan issued an order regarding the appointment of governors to various cities. From the Kurumshi family of the city of Ürünggeçi (Ürgench), he appointed two Muslim father and son, Malı·mut and Mesut Yalavaçi (Yalvaç)

Man (Turk) and Genghis Khan discussed customs and laws relating to the cities. Having thus gained knowledge by discussing the cities, Genghis Khan appointed Mesut Kurumshi, along with the Mongol governors, to administer Bukar (Bukhara), Semisgen (Samarkand), Ürünggeçi (Urgench), Udan, Kishar (Kashgar), Uriyang, Güsen· Danın and other cities. However, he kept his father Mahmud by his side and later appointed him governor of the Kitan capital, Cung-du ( ) and Cung-du ( ) (Beijing). As the Muslims Mahmud and Mesut Yalvaç were the most knowledgeable about city affairs, he appointed them, along with other governors, to administer the Kitan (Chinese) people.

Genghis Khan spent seven years engaged in the affairs of the Muslims. Whilst he was waiting there for Calayirli Bala, Bala had crossed the Shin (Sint) River and pursued Ca1alding-Soltan (Sultan Celaleddin) and Han-Melik (Emin el-Mülk, the ruler of Herat) as far as the Hindu lands. Bala lost track of them there and, whilst searching, marched deep into the heart of the Hindu lands. Failing to find them, he returned. Upon this, Genghis Khan also returned to his homeland. After spending some time near the Erdiş (Irtyš) River along the way, he reached his palace in the Black Forest on the Tula River in the autumn of 1225, the Year of the Rooster.

XII

THE DEATH OF GENGIS KHAN. THE ELECTION OF ÖGÖDEY. THE CONTINUATION OF THE WESTERN CAMPAIGN. THE ANNIHILATION OF THE KIN STATE. THE EXPANSION OF THE MILITARY AND ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION.

(§ 265–282)

After spending the winter at home, the Khan ordered a muster and roll call of his new forces with the intention of preparing for a campaign against the Tangut people, and in the autumn of the Year of the Dog 1226, he set out on a campaign against them. He took Yesüy-Hatun with him. Whilst passing through the Arbuka region in winter, they organised a drive hunt against wild horses. Genghis Khan was riding a red-brown horse. The red-brown horse he was riding reared up in fright at the sight of wild horses galloping along the road, and the Khan fell from his horse, sustaining serious injuries. Upon this, they camped at the Ço'orkat location. After staying there for one night, the following day Yesüy-Hatun said:

'Children! Commanders! Discuss the situation , , and spend the night'

'The Khan had a high fever!' he said. When the children and commanders had gathered, Kongkotatlı Tolun-Çerbi made the following proposal: 'The Tangut people's

> Cities are strong, their
> encampments are fixed;
> they cannot take their
> strong cities away, nor
> can they leave their
> encampments behind!

Let us return now, and set out on the campaign again once the Khan's fever has subsided!' he said. All the children and commanders agreed with this idea—

They deemed this appropriate. However, when they presented this to Genghis Khan, he said: ‘If we do this, the Tangut people will think we are retreating out of fear. Therefore, let us first send an envoy to them and await their reply here; if we are to return, we shall do so only afterwards!’ Upon this, they sent an envoy and instructed him to say the following, on condition that he bring back a reply: ‘Burkan! A few years ago, you told us that the Tangut people would be our right hand. As the Muslims did not accept our offer, whilst preparing for the campaign, I sent an envoy to ask for your help, relying on those words of yours. But you, Burkan, not only did you fail to send troops to help me, you insulted me with your words. At that time, as I had other matters to attend to, I postponed settling accounts with you for another time. On the western campaign, with the help of Heaven and Earth, I brought the Muslims to the right path. Now, Burkan, I have come to settle accounts with you!” Burkan: ‘I did not utter those insulting words!’ he said. Asa-Gambu, one of Burkan’s commanders, however, said: ‘I was the one who spoke those words. If you Mongols are now seeking a battle and wish to fight, come to my camp at Alaşay. I am there

They have their homes
and tents; I have my
laden camels.

‘Come to Alaşay, let us fight there. But if you want gold, silver, silk and goods, go to Eri-Kaya (Ning-hia) and Eri-ce’ü (Si-liang)!’ he replied.

Upon hearing these words, , Cengiz Han, , and ateşi , before they had even dismounted:

‘Can one turn back in the face of such grand words? Let me die if I must, but I shall pursue him on the strength of these words. God, you know!’ he said. Thereafter, Genghis Khan marched upon Alaşay, engaged in battle with Aşa-Gambu, forcing him to flee to the Alaşay mountains, and subsequently took him captive.

He reduced his homes
and tents, his loaded
camels
and his people, reducing them to ashes.

Genghis Khan spent the winter on the snow-capped mountains and sent troops against the Tanguts who had taken to the mountains with Aşa-Gambu

their homes and tents,
their laden camels

and took them captive right down to the last man. Paying tribute to Bo'orçu and Mukali, he told them they might take as much of the spoils as they wished, and added: 'Since I have given you nothing from the Kitan people, divide the Cuyins—who are of Kitan origin—among yourselves,

Let the handsome boys
follow you during the
bird hunt,
And let the beautiful girls grow
up by your side, mending your
clothes

These Cuyins, who were Kara-Kitan, had sided with the Kitan ruler Altan Khan and killed the ancestors of the Mongols. Now I appoint Bo'orçu and Mukali as governors over them!'

After descending from the snow-capped mountains, Genghis Khan laid siege to the city of Urakay and then marched on to the city of Dörmegey. At that time, Burkan wished to meet Genghis Khan and speak with him. As Burkan wished to arrange this meeting in a most lavish manner, he had brought nine golden Buddha statues, plates and bowls of gold and silver, nine boys and nine girls , nine horses and nine camels, and many other gifts to make up the number nine. Genghis Khan received him and permitted the ceremony to begin behind the gate. However, during this ceremony, Genghis Khan's heart was troubled. On the third day, he ordered that the title of Şidurku be bestowed upon Iluku-Burkan, and subsequently, a decision was made to execute him. The Tangut people were scattered in all directions. Genghis Khan's second campaign against them thus came to an end.

Genghis Khan passed away in the Year of the Pig, 1227. After his death, most of the spoils taken from the Tangut people were given to Yesüy-Hatun.

The death of Genghis Khan—the central figure of this work, which takes the form of an epic of heroism—is mentioned merely as a routine event of the year, without any indication of the place or details, . It is likely that the scene of his burial and the location where he was laid to rest were also deliberately omitted. The detailed yet legendary accounts that emerged later are not reliable. Indeed, the accounts diverge significantly from one another, particularly on this point. If the location of the tomb remained unknown even at the time this work was written, it is inconceivable that it could have been revealed much later. In 1237, a Chinese envoy travelling ten years after Genghis Khan's death claimed to have seen the tomb, stating that it was situated near the Lu-kou River, in a place surrounded by mountains and water, and that the ruler had been born there and buried in the same place. The term 'Lu-kou' may refer to the Onan River ( ). However, no one has mentioned this tomb since then. If there are those who regard the Yuan dynasty's cemetery as associated with Genghis Khan, this is merely a conjecture fabricated at a later date. Although rumours occasionally circulate regarding the location of Genghis Khan's tomb, these are nothing more than fairy tales. (See A. Temir, The Secret History of the Mongols, 1948, pp. 238–239, notes by E. Haenisch).

In the Year of the Rat, 1228, the princes of the right wing, led by Ça'aday and Batu; the princes of the left wing, led by Otçigin-Noyan, Yegü and Yesüngge; the princes of the centre, led by Toluy; the princesses; and the sons-in-law— The commanders of the tümen and the captains all gathered together and assembled on the island of Kö'deü on the Kelüren River for the kurultay, and in accordance with Genghis Khan's command and will, they elected Ögödey as 'Khan'. Ça'aday placed his younger brother, Ögödey•Khan, on the throne

They placed him in charge. Ça'aday and Taluy assigned the night guards, the swordsmen, and the eight thousand day guards—that is, the ten thousand veteran guards who had served alongside Genghis Khan—to the command of Similarly, the central administration of the state was also placed under his command.

After Ögödey was chosen as 'Khan' and took control of the ten thousand guards serving at the palace and the central part of the state, he spoke with his elder brother Ça'aday and sent Çormakan-Korçi to assist Halibay-Sultan (the Caliph-Sultan) in the campaign against Baghdad, which their father Genghis Khan had been unable to complete against Halibay-Sultan (the Caliph-Sultan).

In addition, Sübe'etey Bahadır, who had previously been sent against the Kanglin (Kankalis), Kipça'ut (Kipchaks), Bacigit, Orusut (Russians), Asut (Alans), Sasut, Magyars, Kashmiris, Sergesut, Bular (Bulgars) and the Keret peoples; having crossed the deep rivers of the Volga and the Ural , , , and , he entered the cities of Meket and Men Kermen-Keyibe (Kiev), but was ultimately halted by the local peoples. Upon this, the current Khan sent princes such as Batu, Buri, Güyük and Müngge to assist Sübe'etey. Regarding them, the Khan ordered: 'Batu shall command all these princes who have set out on the campaign!'

Thereafter, Ögödey Khan, consulting his elder brother Ça'aday, said the following: "I have ascended the throne prepared by my father, Genghis Khan . Then from behind me:
'"On what merit did he ascend the throne?"—might some not say such things? If my elder brother deems it fit, I wish to go to war against Altan Khan of the Kitan, a campaign begun by our father but left unfinished.' Ça'aday, finding this idea suitable, said: 'Why should we delay this matter? Set out, leaving a capable deputy at the camp. I shall also send troops from here.'

, Ögödey Khan left Oldakar-Korçi as his deputy at the camp.

Ögödey Khan launched a campaign against the Khitan people in the Year of the Rabbit, 1231. He sent to lead the advance. In a short time, they defeated the Khitan army and laid them low like a felled forest. After capturing Çabçiyal, Ögödey Khan dispatched troops in all directions to capture cities and fortresses, whilst he himself took up position at Şira-Dektur (Lung-hu-t'ai). Altan Khan was defeated and all his wealth fell into Ögödey Khan's hands. Raiders and administrators were sent out in all directions. Governors were appointed to Cung-du (Beijing) and other cities. Ögödey Khan then returned safely to Kara-Korum.

Commanders such as Batu, Büri, Güyük and Müngge, sent as reinforcements for Sübe'etey Bahadır, subjugated the Kangli, Kipcha'ud and Bacigi tribes, captured the cities of Ecil, Cayak and Meget, and then routed the Orusud (Russians). They subjugated the people of the cities of Asut, Sasut, Bo-lar and Man-Kermen-Kiva, as well as part of the population of , and took the rest captive. After appointing governors to the cities, they returned to their homelands. Ögödey Khan sent Yesüder as reinforcements for Calayirtay-Korçin—who had previously been dispatched against the peoples of Cürcen and Solangka (North Korea)—
-Korçi as reinforcements for xml-ph-0001@deepl.internal Calayirtay - Korçin, who had previously been sent against the peoples of Cürcen and Solangka (North Korea), and ordered him to take control of the administration there.

Shormakan-Korchi defeated the people of Baghdad. Upon hearing of the beauty of that land and the quality of its goods, Ögödey Khan issued the following order: 'Let Shormakan-Korchi remain as governor in that place and send us a regular supply of goods and livestock from there every year'.

As mentioned above (see p. 97), during the great western campaign, Subutai, who had been sent by Genghis Khan to the Kipchak lands and against the Russians in western Europe, had achieved great successes, but his forces were gradually dwindling. Taking this into account, Ögödey Khan ordered Subutai—

To assist Batu, Genghis Khan had dispatched significant forces to Eastern Europe under the command of his four eldest grandsons. These were the eldest sons of Genghis Khan's four sons—Jochi, Chagatai, Ögedei and Tolui: Batu, Buri, Güyük and Müngge. Following the successful conclusion of the campaign in Eastern Europe, at the farewell banquet that was held, Batu sent a messenger to Ögödey Khan with the following message, after Buri, Güyük and Karkasun—the son of Elcigidey—had insulted Batu with rude remarks:

'By the power we received from God and by the might of our Khan, we laid waste to the city of Meget and took the people of Orus captive and into slavery. We subjugated eleven states and their peoples, and seized the golden reins of power. Upon this, we organised a farewell banquet to mark our return home and gathered together in a large tent. As I was the eldest among the other commanders, I had drunk a cup or two before anyone else. Faced with this situation, Büri and Güyük left the assembly, mounted their horses and rode off. As they were leaving, Büri said:

'Although Batu is of the same rank as us, how is it that he drinks before us?

He looks like a bearded
woman,
We should kick him with
our feet, trample him
underfoot!'

he said. Güyük said: 'We should throw pieces of wood at the breasts of these women carrying weapons!' Elcigidey's son Karkasun said: 'We should attach wooden tails to them!' That is what they said. Whilst we were sent among foreign and hostile peoples, and our situation was uncertain, Büri and Güyük abandoned us by uttering such words. I now submit this matter to the Khan's consideration!'

Enraged by Batu's words, the Khan refused to receive Güyük in his presence and said: 'This wretch—on whose strength does he rely to act in such a manner against his elders—

? If only this single egg had rotted! Since he has defied his own lord:

I shall send him forth,
let him climb
claws, let him climb
fortresses as high as
mountains!
I shall send him to foreign lands,
Nails wear away, Let him
climb rugged castles!

You vile and despicable Karkasun, who taught you to speak such words against our own kin? I shall bring both Güyük and Karkasun to trial. In truth, Karkasun's head should have been cut off at once. But if I do that, they will say I am not impartial. Tell Batu to send Buri to our elder brother Ça'aday. Let our lord Ça'aday decide his fate!'

The princes Menggey and the commanders Alçiday, Kong-kortay and Canggi presented the following to the ruler: 'Your father, Genghis Khan, once said:

'Matters of the campaign
shall be dealt with in the
campaign. Matters of the
home shall be settled at
home!'

If you permit, we wish to make the following request: although our Khan is now angry with Güyük, this is actually a matter pertaining to the campaign. Would it not be better to leave its resolution to Batu?' These words pleased the ruler, and at last, having overcome his anger, he received Güyük into his presence. However, he rebuked him, saying:

‘As for you: On the battlefield
They say you’ve cut
off your men’s
backsides, You’ve
ruined the soldiers’
appearance!
They say.”

Or do you think, ‘I subjugated the Russian people by striking fear into them with my violence and fury’?

Or do you suppose, ‘I defeated the Russian people all by myself’?

You seem to be drawing courage from these thoughts and attempting to speak out against your own superior. Our father, Genghis Khan:

'The many terrify, the
few kill!'

Did he not say so? Though it may appear that you defeated your enemies single-handedly, in truth you were marching under the protection of Sübe’etey and Böcek, and it was only through the joint efforts of the ‘ ’ that you conquered the lands of the Orusut (Russians) and the Kipça’ud (Kipchaks). Whilst you intended to take one or two Orusut or Kipça’ud prisoners, you could not even capture and present a single goat’s leg. Having left home for the very first time, you deemed yourself a hero and returned, spouting grand boasts as if you had accomplished everything single-handedly
and returned. According to the proposal of the commanders— —Batu shall handle Güyük’s
and Karkasun, and Ça’aday should handle Büri’s affairs.”

Thereupon, Ögödey Khan declared: ‘I reiterate the duties incumbent upon the night watchmen, the swordsmen, the day guards—in short, all the guard units—who served under our father Genghis Khan: Just as they served in the past by the command of our father the Khan, so shall they serve today

they shall continue to perform their duties in the same manner,' and reissued the principles established by Genghis Khan on this matter (see Chapter IX), with certain additions.

Ögödey Khan also addressed matters of social order, and thus laws concerning the welfare of the nation (state and people) were enacted. According to *The Secret History of the Mongols*, some of the provisions discussed in these matters are as follows:

'We do not wish to leave this nation, which was established by my father Genghis Khan amidst a thousand hardships, in a state of destitution. The people:

His feet on the ground,
Your hand to the soil

Let them rejoice. Having taken our seat on the throne prepared by our father, we shall now issue the necessary orders for the welfare of the people:

Each year, one old sheep from each of the people's flocks shall be taken for the feast. One sheep from every hundred shall be taken and given to the poor of that region.

Furthermore: When the elder and younger brothers, the soldiers and the guards gather together, their drink is often provided by the people, which is not right. For this purpose, mares shall be set aside from the herds to be milked; men shall be assigned to milk them; and those who manage the migration affairs and those who tend the flocks shall take turns.

When the elder and younger brothers gather, gifts should be distributed to them.

Silk, silver ingots, burial goods, bows, armour and weapons shall be placed in storehouses and placed under guard. Storekeepers shall be appointed in every region and entrusted with their care.

Next: All land and water shall be distributed among the people. As for the matter of grazing livestock, it would be appropriate to appoint one official from every thousand and assign them to this task.

Next: In the desert regions, there is nothing but game. To secure more land for the people, those sent to manage the settlement of Çanay and Uygurtay will go there to dig wells and build dams.

Furthermore: Until now, as the mail passed through inhabited areas, it was both delayed and a burden on the public. We are now issuing the following order to all parties regarding this matter: Post offices will be established by separating postmen and messengers from the various districts, and from now on, unless there are exceptional circumstances, postmen will not travel through inhabited areas. This method will certainly be for the best.

As suggested by Çanay and Boldakar, we consider it appropriate for our elder brother Ça'aday to make the decision regarding these matters. If he deems it appropriate and says 'suitable', then the work shall be carried out in accordance with his decision."

Ça'aday, deeming all these tasks suitable, replied: 'I shall endeavour to establish communication from here to your postal stations. I shall then send word to Batu, requesting that he too establish communication by setting up stations on this side,' and added: 'This matter of the postal service was the most important of the tasks proposed.'

Upon this, Ögödey Khan said: 'With our elder brother Ça'aday and Batu at their heads, all the princes and commanders of the right wing; with Otçigin-Noyan and Yegü at their heads, all the princes and commanders of the left wing; the sons-in-law and princes of the central state; the commanders of the Tumen, Binlik, Yüzlük (Company) and Ten-man (Manga) commanders—all accepted our proposals:

For the feast, one two-year-old sheep shall be taken from each flock every year, and one one-year-old lamb from every hundred sheep shall be taken and given to the poor. The separation of postmen and grooms and the establishment of postal routes will provide relief for the people , and the postal

operations to run more efficiently. Everyone has accepted this proposal.'

Upon this, the Khan's order was submitted to his elder brother, Ça'aday, for review. After it was also approved by Ça'aday:

Throughout the realm, in accordance with the Khan's command, one two-year-old sheep was taken from each flock for the feast, and one one-year-old lamb was collected from every hundred sheep. The mares were set aside, and men were assigned to milk them. Mare herdsmen, cart drivers and administrators were selected. Messengers and horsemen were assigned. Araçen and Tokuçar were tasked with organising this postal service. Twenty horsemen were assigned to one station, and twenty riders were allocated to each of the other stations. The Khan further stated the following on this matter: 'The number of riding horses, sheep for food, mares to be milked, and oxen and carts to be driven that must be kept at these stations has been determined by me. If anyone is found to be lacking even a single rope of these supplies, they shall be punished by having their lip cut off; if a spoon or a wheel spoke is missing, they shall be punished by having their nose cut off."

Feeling that his life was drawing to a close , Ögö-dey Khan, in paragraph 281 of *The Secret History of the Mongols*, gives an account of his deeds, both good and bad:

Ögödey Khan then said: 'After ascending to my father's high throne, I accomplished the following in particular:

(1) My first achievement was to launch a campaign against the Kin people and eliminate that state. (2) As my second achievement, I established a postal system to ensure our messengers could travel swiftly and that my necessary orders were delivered. (3) Then, by having wells dug in arid regions, I provided the nation and the people with water and pastureland. (4) Then, by appointing governors and administrators to various cities, I enabled the people to stand firmly on the ground and work the land

In this way, I secured a comfortable life for him. Thus, following in my father's footsteps, I have done four good deeds.

However, after being chosen by my father to ascend the throne and having the affairs of the entire nation placed upon my shoulders, I also committed some misdeeds:

(1) My first transgression was that I was overcome by wine. (2) As for my second transgression: contrary to tradition, I was swayed by a woman's words and had girls brought from my uncle Otçigin's homeland. (3) Although I was the leader of the nation and the Khan, I acted contrary to the will of the people and became involved in unjust deeds; this is my third fault. (4) Then, by having Dokolku killed, I committed yet another fault. Why? Because he always went before our father and was ever ready to sacrifice himself for the leader. It was for this reason that I acted unjustly by having him killed in secret. Now who will come forward and sacrifice themselves for me as he did? I have done a wicked deed by secretly killing a man who had proven his loyalty to my father before others.

Furthermore, by building fences and ditches, I sought to prevent the game animals—created by God's command—from fleeing into my brother's territory. For this, I heard harsh words from my older and younger brothers. This, too, was an unjust act.

'After my father's death, for every good deed I did, I also committed four evil ones.'

In medieval manuscripts and early printed works, the name of the author or scribe, the place and date of writing, are stated at the very end of the work, and in Europe this was called a 'colophon'. In 'The History of the Mongols', this practice was also followed, and the details regarding the work— —are stated in the final paragraph, number 282:

'This was written and completed when the Great Assembly convened in the seventh month of the Year of the Rat (1240), whilst the palace was being erected on the island of Köde on the Kelüren River, between the localities of Dolo'an-Bol-dak and Şilgınçek.'

THE TURKISH-MONGOL EMPIRE AND ITS CONTINUATION

The north-eastern regions of Asia, which have been known since ancient times as part of the Turks' ancestral homeland and encompass present-day Mongolia and Manchuria, have been areas where various Turkic tribes, as well as other Altaic peoples such as the Mongols and Manchus, have been active since the time of the Huns. The Huns, regarded as the ancestors of the Turks and engaged in constant conflict with China, spread from these regions westwards and southwards; moreover, this was the centre of the Göktürk Empire, which began to play a major role in Asian history in terms of politics and culture from the 6th to the 8th centuries. However, viewing this region—which is far from the sea, has a harsh continental climate, and, in particular, necessitated a life of constant warfare with China—as holding a bleak future, the Turks of the ' '
From the 9th century onwards, they gradually abandoned the region and shifted their centres westwards and south-westwards. The Orkhon and Yenisei inscriptions, regarded as the oldest monuments of the Turkish language and culture, originated in these regions; whilst the originals are still found here, the area is now known as 'Mongolia'
and its connection to Turkic heritage holds only historical significance.

As the political and administrative centre shifted west and south-west, some Turkic tribes continued to live alongside the Mongols or in neighbouring regions; whilst some Mongols became Turkified, it was also observed that certain Turkic tribes became 'Mongolised'. Such mutual contact and intermingling between the Turkic tribes in the Altai and the Mongols continued into the 20th century and continues to this day. For this reason, among the Mongols, Turkic

Just as Mongol tribal names are found amongst the Turks, it has been observed that the name ‘Hazan’ was used simultaneously in both Turkic and Mongol societies; however, depending on the context, some of these have been interpreted as of ‘Turkic’ origin and others as of ‘Mongol’ origin.

Prior to their emergence onto the historical stage in the 12th century, the political and social activities of the Mongols and the other tribes affiliated with them, such as state-building, remained local in scope. The events of the 12th and 13th centuries, which took the form of the establishment of a world empire, constitute one of the most significant chapters in world history; they bring to mind the earlier Hun, Avar and Göktürk eras and appear as if they were mere repetitions of those periods.

Genghis Khan, who assumed leadership of this last great empire established on the Asian steppes, united the Mongol tribes to which he belonged and, having brought the Turkic tribes under his rule, ensured that they acted in concert with the Mongols. Indeed, these steppe tribes, bound by the same historical destiny for centuries, were not strangers to one another in terms of tribal organisation and economic structure, nor in cultural terms; moreover, particularly in the border regions where contact between the two peoples was more frequent, they had come to be influenced by one another to a greater or lesser extent in ethnic terms as well. The steppe laws, the living conditions they engendered, and the political unions built upon them had, over the course of centuries of shared history, so thoroughly intermingled and blended certain elements that the racial distinctions between these peoples had virtually vanished, with some being absorbed into others. Just as many Mongol tribes were represented among the Turks in earlier times, it is possible to find Turkish groups represented in this way among the Mongols of today. Traces of this can still be seen today, particularly among those sections of the Turkish groups residing in regions close to the Mongols. The Mongols who emerged under the leadership of Genghis Khan, for a short time—

The fact that they were able to establish such a powerful organisation can be explained not so much by the Mongols' own strength, but rather by the close ties forged by the historical
, and the fact that some Turkic tribes immediately united with the Mongols. The incorporation of neighbouring Turkic cultural centres into this organisation as a result of cooperation with the Mongols was not only a historical event frequently observed in Turkic history, but also served as a factor in the future development of this new state. Just as the fact that the terms we have long observed among the Turks were adopted verbatim proves that the Mongol state organisation was founded upon ancient Turkish traditions, so too are the spread of the Turkic-style administrative system, which prevailed in the eastern parts of the Turkic lands, amongst the Mongols, and the continued use of the Uyghur alphabet by the Mongols to this day further evidence of this.

In the late 12th and early 13th centuries, momentous events unfolded that concerned not only the Turkic world but also all the peoples of Asia and Europe—encompassing a large part of the known world at the time—manifesting in the establishment of the Turkic-Mongol Empire, which sought to impose a new order upon the world. This empire is sometimes referred to as the 'Genghis Empire' or the 'Mongol Empire' after its founder, or
'Turkic-Mongol Empire' (, or: 'Khanate', 'Khanate-
).

Although the Mongols were the dominant element of this empire in its early stages, as the state expanded, the Turks soon came to constitute the vast majority of both the population and the army; furthermore, the foundations of the state organisation and many of its institutions were nothing other than a continuation of ancient Turkish traditions. For this reason, it is appropriate to refer to the state founded by Genghis Khan as the 'Turkic-Mongol Khanate'. During this period, all Turkic lands (with a few exceptions) were united under a single empire. This vast empire encompassed the whole of Asia and all of Eastern Europe, with the exception of China, India and Arabia.

It is for this very reason that the Turkic-Mongol invasions and the Khanate are closely linked to Turkic history. Due to certain historical events and emotional influences, since 'Turkic-Mongol and Tatar' topics have not been sufficiently explained, or because interpretations have been based on differing views depending on individuals and nations, only
not only the 'Turkic-Mongol Empire' of the Genghis Khan era, but even the Turkic states that emerged from its fragmentation, have been sought to be excluded from the history of the Turks.

However, it is also a fact that the Khanate founded by Genghis Khan essentially constitutes an integral part of Turkish history. Indeed, Genghis himself, according to some accounts, was of Turkic origin. The tribes near the Kerülen River, which had played virtually no role in history up to that point, began to display great activity within a short time thanks to the genius of Temüjin (Timuçin), son of Yesü-gey-Bahadır.

– THE GREAT KHANS

When they first appeared on the historical stage in the late 12th century, the following major tribes were living in and around Mongolia and were engaged in a relentless struggle with one another : To the west, between the Irtysh and Orkhon rivers and north of the Altai Mountains, were the Naymans; to their east, the ; around the Orkhon, the Kereyits; to their north, along the middle and lower reaches of the Selengge River, the Merkits; ; to their west and north of the Naymans, the Oirats; the Tatars around Lake Büyür; and, although not particularly powerful or well-known in the early days, the Mongols (Manghol), whose name became a general ethnic designation following Genghis Khan's unification of all the tribes, were the principal among them. The Naymans and Kereyits, being neighbours of the Uyghur Turks, were culturally influenced by them; the Mongol tribes, particularly the Naymans, who adopted many elements of civilisation and culture—including writing—from the Uyghurs, were, in comparison to their other neighbours,

They were at a similar level. In the 10th century, we see that political activity in Mongolia intensified, the Kyrgyz were driven westwards to the vicinity of the Yenisei, and the Khitans, who settled in northern China, established a dynasty known as the Liao. The Liao state was overthrown in 1225, and some of its people migrated westwards, establishing the Kara-Khitan state in the Tarim and Fergana valleys, where they lived for about a century.

Whilst the majority of the population adhered to a nature-based religion or Shamanism, as was the case among the ancient Turks, Buddhism was spreading amongst the Mongol tribes, and Christianity was gaining ground amongst the Naymans and Kereyits; furthermore, as a result of the constant conflict and contact with China, Chinese culture was also exerting its influence.

The Chinese, whilst referring to the northern tribes by their own names, (e.g. Hiung-nu = Hun; Tu-K'üe = Turk), they have often referred to them collectively as Tatar (Ta-ta) without distinguishing between Turks and Mongols; by the early 13th century, however, they had categorised the Mongols into groups such as
into the categories of 'White Tatar', 'Black Tatar' and 'Wild Tatar'.

Whilst the Mongol Empire initially consisted solely of Mongols, it soon expanded to become a world empire and eventually took the form of a Turkic-Mongol Empire. This was because virtually all the lands inhabited by Turks had been incorporated into this empire. Although many other nations were also part of this empire, the main body and the majority of the population (with the exception of China, which remained under Mongol rule for 100 years) consisted of Turks. Some Turkic tribes submitted to Genghis Khan through peaceful means, others as a result of war; they soon reached an understanding with him and began to participate in all the social, military and administrative affairs of the great empire. Although the Mongols remained a minority within the Empire in terms of numbers and were at a lower cultural level compared to the Turks, a significant portion of them adopted Islam and became Turkified, whilst the remainder remained essentially Mongol-

returned to the list. Thus, when the Empire fragmented, it was not the Mongols but new Turkic states such as the Golden Horde, Siberia, Chagatai and the Ilkhanate that emerged, whilst Mongol rule was confined to their former homelands.

Before his death, Genghis Khan had recommended that his third son, Ögödey (Oktay), should become ruler. Ögödey was elected Khan at the Kurultai convened in 1228 in accordance with this command and was enthroned by his brother Chagatai. During Ögödey's reign, Korea was annexed, northern China was fully incorporated into the empire, and the western campaign of 1237–1241 saw the conquest of Russia and all of Eastern Europe.

Following Ögödey's death, the state was administered by his wife Töregene until a new khan was elected. At the Kurultay of 1246, Töregene secured the election of her son Güyük as khan, despite Batu's opposition. This move was on the verge of causing an armed conflict between Batu, the victorious commander of the western armies and son of Coçi, and Güyük; however, with Güyük's death (1248), the situation calmed down, and after his wife Ogul Gaymış had governed the state as regent for three years (1248–1251), the throne passed to the line of Toluy, Genghis Khan's youngest son. The election of Toluy's son Müngge (Möngke, Mengü) as Khan (1251/52) satisfied all parties and prevented conflict.

Müngge wished to continue and complete the campaigns initiated by Genghis Khan and partially pursued during Ögödey's reign. To this end, he set about implementing his plan by dispatching large armies in two directions: one to southern China and the other to the Middle East. At the head of the armies in China was his elder brother Hubilay (Kublai), whilst his younger brother Hülegü led the forces sent to the Middle East.

According to ancient tradition, the state was considered the property of the dynasty; therefore, whilst Genghis Khan was still alive, he had divided various regions among his sons, granting them the right to benefit from them. Accordingly

His eldest son, Coçi (Cuçi, Cuci), took the north-western regions—namely the Kipchak lands and Chagatai Turkestan—whilst Ögödey took the eastern regions; his younger son, Toluy, remained in the homeland to carry on the family line. As long as the Khanate remained strong, Genghis's sons remained loyal to the centre and administered their own lands like governors. However, as the centre weakened, the parts of the empire, depending on the geopolitical and cultural centres , were: 1) the Chinese Yuan dynasty (which began with Kublai Khan and was centred in Mongolia), 2) Turkestan, under the rule of the Chagatai descendants, 3) the Ilkhanate, held by the Hulagu family, and 4) the Golden Horde, held by the Jochi (Cuçi) descendants, thus dividing into four parts.

1 KUBLAI AND THE YUAN DYNASTY IN CHINA

With the Great Khan Kublai's relocation of the state capital from Karakorum to Beijing and the incorporation of the core Mongol region into this centre, a barrier was erected between the Turkic and Mongol peoples, leading to the loosening or complete severing of the ties that had long existed between them in every respect. From this point onwards, the contacts that occurred between these two peoples did not exceed the natural boundaries observed between nations in every place and era, and did not result in any significant impact, either ethnically or culturally. The history of the eastern part, centred on Beijing, which emerged from the fragments resulting from the weakening of the centre of the Mongol Empire, has become intertwined with the history of the Chinese nation, whilst the western part
, however, had already participated in the historical course of events centred around the Turkish centres we observed even before the establishment of the Mongol Empire
, and became part of its historical development.

The Genghis Empire, under the Great Khans Genghis (Cen-giz, 1206–1227), Ögödey (Oktay, 1227–1241), Güyük (1246–1248), Müngge (Möngke, Mengü, 1251/52–1259) and, to a lesser extent, Hubilay (Kubilay, 1264–1294) , the empire was a powerful...

It maintained its unity by uniting under a single leader. When Khan Müngge (Möngke, Mengü) died, he had chosen his younger brother Arık Buğa as his successor. At that time, Kublai, who was at the head of the armies in China, convened a kurultai in Shantu comprising the chieftains of the army and had himself elected Khan. He chose Beijing as his capital. Arık Buğa, who was in Karakorum, refused to recognise this kurultay, which acted contrary to tradition. The other parts of the empire also sided with Arık Buğa on this matter; however, Kublai defeated Arık Buğa and settled the matter in his favour. After prolonged struggles, Kublai succeeded in bringing Southern China under his rule as well, and his dynasty, known as the Yuan, ushered in a brilliant era in Chinese history. As Great Khan, Kublai continued to regard the other parts of the empire as subject to him, and the Ilkhanids of Iran effectively accepted this suzerainty for a long time. However, as the dynasty became increasingly Sinicised, taking on the form of Chinese rulers rather than remaining the head of the empire, its influence over other regions diminished, and after a while, the nominal ties between the state and its other parts also came to an end.

2 – The Chagatai Dynasty and Turkestan

The formation of a separate dynasty in the Turkestan region of the Mongol Empire, known as the Chagatai Khanate, took place after Chagatai's death. Although this region had been officially granted to Chagatai during Genghis Khan's reign, it was never administered independently by Chagatai. Just as the old Turkic dynasties in this region were left in their places, Maveraünnehir—which we later see within this province—was also administered in the name of the Great Khan by Mahmut Yalavaç, who resided in Hucent, and subsequently by his son Mesut Bey. The first ruler of this region from the Genghisid family was Kara Hülegü (1242–1247), and Khan Güyük had appointed Yisü Mengü, the son of Chagatai, as his successor. Following the struggle that resulted in the fragmentation of the empire, Chagatai...

Algu, the grandson of Chagatai, established a confederation— —ruled by the sons of Chagatai, which included Eastern and Western Turkestan, as well as part of the Khwarezm region and Afghanistan. After Algu's death (1266), sovereignty passed to Kaydu of the Ögedey family and then to his son Chagpar, but subsequently remained in the hands of his son Duva (1291–1306). The civil wars that led to the empire's fragmentation, particularly d e s t a b i l ised the economic situation in Turkestan, it was impossible to ensure lasting stability in the administration. Duva's attempt to broker a general peace among the sons of Genghis Khan, particularly to rectify the economic situation, also came to nothing. When Tarma Shirin ascended the throne (1326–1333), he adopted Islam; whilst this strengthened Maveraünnehir's economic ties with other Islamic states, on the other hand, his violation of Genghis Khan's laws led to an uprising by the tribes in the eastern regions. The administrative centre, which had changed location several times, was moved again during the reign of Kazan (d. 1346) to the city of Karşı in Transoxiana, and from then on Islamic influence in the administration became increasingly dominant. From 1346–47 onwards, as a result of the intensifying , the power of the central authority was completely weakened and, although a khan officially belonging to the Genghisid family remained in power, the commanders , and this situation persisted with very few changes until the time of Timur.

3 – HÜLEGÜ AND THE ILKHANIDS

In 1253, the Great Khan Müngge (Mengü) 1 dispatched a large army under the command of his brother Hülegü to Iran . Hülegü, In January 1256, he crossed the Amu Darya and, in order to establish his authority, received the local chieftains of Iran and the Caucasus. Among the latter was Rüknettin, the leader of the Ismailis, who had once possessed great power and influence. Rüknettin's followers·

As he was not accepted by the others, he fled to the fortress of Alamut; although he sought to mount a rebellion, he was unsuccessful, and within a short time both he and all his supporters in Iran were eliminated. Hulagu, acting as a vassal of the Great Khan, had planned to establish a great state here. After the conquest of Iran was completed, he captured Baghdad . Caliph Mustasim, who had delayed in recognising Hülegü and lacked the forces to resist him, was killed along with his family. Only a few members of the caliph's family managed to escape death by fleeing to Egypt. Two of these individuals were successively proclaimed caliphs by Sultan Baybars in 1260 and 1261, and this family held the nominal caliphate in Egypt until the Ottoman conquest of the region. Following the capture of Baghdad, the Syrian principalities also came under Hülegü's protection; Meanwhile, the Turkish forces in Egypt responded to Hülegü's demand for their submission by launching an attack on Palestine, inflicting a crushing defeat on Hülegü's army at Ayni Calfıt, near Nablus, on 3 September 1260. Hülegü'ssuccessors not only engaged in conflicts with Turkestan and the Golden Horde but also sought to ally with European states against the Turkish state of Egypt. During the reign of Ahmad (1282–1284), who had embraced Islam, the faith began to spread even among the main forces of the Ilkhanids; and with the assistance of the Muslims, he ascended the throne and adopted and took the name Mehmed , the remaining Ilkhanids also converted to Islam. The Ilkhanid organisation did not last long; from the reign of Abu Said Bahadur Khan (1316–1335) onwards, internal strife began.

The conflicts, which intensified after his death, shook the very foundations of the state. Power in the country fell into the hands of two main families: the Emir Çoban Oğulları in Azerbaijan and the family of its founder, Sheikh Hasan, in Baghdad. The weakening of the central authority led to many of the local beys who had previously existed gaining their independence.

4 – COÇİ AND THE GOLDEN HORD

The state, which later became known in Turkish history as the Golden Horde, had originally been granted to Genghis Khan's eldest son, Jochi (Cuci). At the time of Genghis Khan's death, Jochi's realm encompassed all the regions west of the Irtysh River, including the province of Khwarezm and the Iranian provinces along the southern coast of the Caspian Sea. As Coçi had passed away six months before his father, Genghis appointed Coçi's second son, Batu, to succeed him. Just as the various parts of the empire had been divided amongst his sons whilst Genghis Khan was still alive, his sons, in keeping with this tradition, divided their own lands amongst their children. Thus, Coçi's eldest son, Orda, held the eastern part of the country (Ak Orda); Batu, the main Kipchak region (Gök Orda); Tok Timür, the middle and northern regions of the Volga River; and Şiban, the regions from the Urals to Southern Siberia and the surrounding areas, and so on. As long as the Golden Horde possessed a strong central authority, all of them recognised the supremacy of Batu's family and, moreover, held positions as governors in various parts of the state, with their authority passing from father to son. However, with the weakening of the centre and, in particular, the struggles that began with the extinction of the Batu dynasty, they not only played a major role but also became significant factors in the subsequent complete disintegration of the Golden Horde.

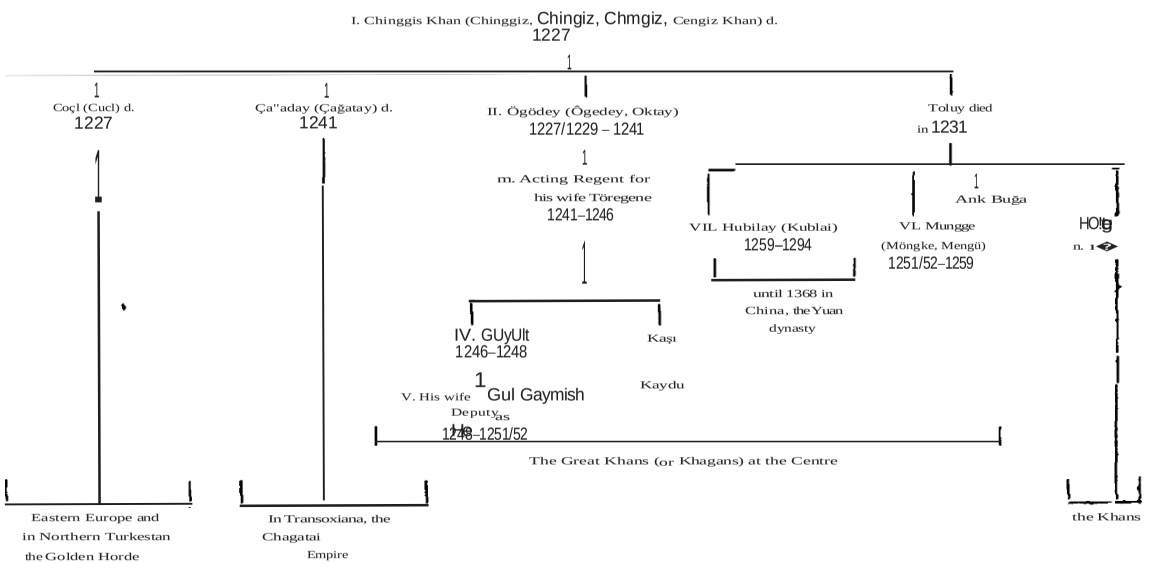
By putting an end to the turmoil in the steppes and neighbouring lands, even if only for a short time, the Mongol Empire played a major role in human history by re-establishing relations between continents and, as a result, by restoring security to the ancient trade routes, thereby facilitating the transport of both material and spiritual cultural goods from one end of the world to the other during that era, there is no doubt that it played a major role in human history; however, its greatest impact was felt in the Turkic sphere, upon the Turkic people. The periods preceding Genghis Khan and the history of the individual regions of the Turkic sphere

Although this influence could be interpreted or explained as either positive or negative, from the perspective of the future destiny of the Turkish lands and people following this period, it cannot be denied that, in general , it served a very important and positive function. Whilst Genghis Khan and his successors were striving for dominance, perhaps without even considering the consequences themselves, by bringing the steppe tribes—who constituted the Turks' most significant force even in that era—under control, they transformed them, as in earlier times, into a reserve of strength. Through their assistance, they united the Turkish lands around a single centre, thereby ensuring the intermingling of the Turkish tribes. These powerful and fresh new waves of Turks not only prevented isolated Turkish groups on their borders from forming distinct ethnic units under the influence of their neighbours, but also prevented the emergence of different cultures under the influence of foreign groups. Just as we know that many cultural centres were destroyed and many others relocated in the territories conquered by Genghis Khan and his successors, we also see that new ones emerged in their place. The losses and gains of the Turks in this process of destruction and reconstruction are a matter worthy of separate examination, and it will surely be seen that this was not to the detriment of the Turks as a nation. The fact that the Turks emerged from this period as a single cultural community within the framework of Islam also constitutes a significant gain in terms of national cohesion. The fact that the Turkish groups observed along the border regions have strengthened themselves by uniting with the rear forces—when the specific circumstances of these regions are taken into account—cannot be regarded as an insignificant event in Turkish history.

The fragmentation of the Mongol Empire and the declaration of independence by various regions not only restricted the Turkish sphere of influence economically, but the conflicts that arose amongst them— — also
led to the unnecessary shedding of Turkish blood, and the external alliance, which continued even officially, was completely

All of this has been eliminated. The fact that none of the states bordering the Turkish domain managed to draw the steppes—the source of the Turks' strength—entirely to their side led to these forces becoming involved in civil wars in a disorganised manner, turning this into a state of perpetual chaos. Although the foundations necessary for a new unity had been partially laid, no figure emerged among Timur's successors capable of continuing the work this commander had begun. At a time when these separate regions were weakening and becoming ready to accept a new Turkish power, the Anatolian Turks, who were experiencing their most powerful era, saw no benefit for themselves in the unification of other Turkish regions, as their own strength was sufficient to accomplish the task before them; thus, they were unable to bring the Turkish homeland under a single administration. Later, in an era where spiritual values began to play a greater role than material power, the most important regions of the Turkish domain had already fallen into the hands of other nations[1].

The History of the Çingil Schools


The Great Khan...
I. Chinggis Khan (Chinggiz, Chingiz, Chmgiz, Cengiz Khan) d. 1227
Coçl (Cucl) d. 1227
Ça"aday (Çağatay) d. 1241
II. Ögödey (Ögedey, Oktay) 1227/1229 – 1241
Toluy died in 1231
m. Acting Regent for his wife Töregene 1241–1246
VIL Hubilay (Kublai) 1259–1294
VL Mungge (Möngke, Mengü) 1251/52–1259
Ank Buğa
HOlg
n. 1
until 1368 in China, the Yuan dynasty
IV. GUyUlt 1246–1248
Kaşı Kaydu
V. His wife Deputy as 1248–1251/52
Gul Gaymish
The Great Khans (or Khagans) at the Centre
Eastern Europe and in Northern Turkestan the Golden Horde
In Transoxiana, the Chagatai Empire
the Khans

SOCIAL AND MILITARY ORGANISATION DURING THE TURKIC-MONGOL EMPIRE

Without delving into the details of social organisation, culture and economic life among the ancient Turks, we shall confine ourselves here to summarising the research conducted on the social and military organisation during the period of the founding of the Mongol Empire.

The secret of the great successes achieved by the Huns and other Turkic peoples against Genghis Khan's armies lies, on the one hand, in their rare heroism, their genius-level strategy, their fighting spirit reaching the point of ecstasy, and the technical superiority employed at that time; and on the other hand, in their integration of civil and military organisations—in their ability to integrate civil and military organisations; that is to say, social structures such as the family, the tribe, the clan and the people corresponded to military units such as the decury, the century, the millennium and the division, and in the event of war, the entire nation could act as a single army without disrupting its internal organisation.

Genghis Khan did not introduce anything new in this respect, but rather skilfully utilised the way of life that had long existed in these regions by organising it in a manner suitable for large-scale military operations.

The smallest family unit was called *a yasun* ('bone') in Mongolian. Those belonging to a single *yasun* did not marry one another as they were considered relatives, and they believed they were descended from *a* single ancestor ('ebügen').

Several yasun's merging *aymag* and *obog's* (= Turkish *oymak, oba,* meaning 'lineage, tribe, clan, branch') were formed. Those belonging to *the obog* also intermarried with one another

and traced their origins back to a common ancestor. Another term used for obogs was *urug* (equivalent to the Turkish *uruğ,* meaning 'relative, tribe, clan, lineage, generation').

When people belonging to different obog (lineages) married, they referred to one another as *kuda* (*kudaş* in Uyghur, *kuda* in other dialects). Those outside the *Yasun* and *urug were called cad* (= Turkish *cad,)'at,* 'stranger') were Howe wars alone cad's oppos ite is not obog and members of *the* relatives between da 'char- done. *clan* in that case, relatives they were considered dista *obog* (clan) strangers. affiliated to people also, another gifts nt taki to give wat reciprocally ng living together er- , though not members of *the aymag* and as exactly. obog *The Urug,* that is, the relatives, constituted the ruling class of a particular obog, or clan. Among them was also a class of slaves known as bogol or bo'ol; these differed from the slaves of other Eastern peoples, consisting of servants made up of war captives, and they retained their own clan characteristics. Over time, bogols could be counted as *urugs and* enter the class of relatives. Bogols (slaves) who proved themselves useful were called *darhan* (tarhan) upon being set free. Later, the term *calagu* (young man) was also used to mean 'servant'.

From this autumn people they supported *the anda* (blood brother). *The Anda people*

There were also ranks among relatives based on their status. The *yasun* and obog were led by individuals who had distinguished themselves through their ability, courage and skill; these were known as *noyan* ('lord, chief, commander'). When a noyan assumed office, lineage and ancestry played no part. Terms such as bagatur ' («hero, brave»), *seçen* («wise, intelligent»), *mergen* («marksman»), *bökö, büke* («wrestler») and so on were also added to describe their qualities. In addition to 'Noyan', terms such as *'taysı'* ('Prince') and *'sengün'* ('commander'), borrowed from Chinese, and *'tigin'* ('Prince') and *'buyruğ'* ('commander'), derived from Turkish, were also used.

were also used. *Noyan* originally referred to both civil and military commanders, but later came to be used generally in the sense of 'officer'.

The closest aides to the Noyans were called *nökör or nöker*. There is disagreement regarding the origin of this term. Whilst Barthold suggested that it was a word of Persian origin, Vladimirtsov, on the contrary, argued that the Persian word *nöker* was of Mongolian origin.

In the late 12th century, the Mongol tribes were engaged in constant conflict amongst themselves. Under the leadership of the noyans, who distinguished themselves through their courage and ability, many obogs united to form new groups, which were known as *irgcn* ('people, tribe'). By the time they emerged onto the historical stage during the reign of Genghis Khan ( ), there were well-known irgen such as the *Mongol, Kereyit, Nayman, Herkit, Tatar and Oyrat* among the tribes of Mongolia ( ). Sometimes a tribe was forcibly divided and dispersed, or chieftains would establish new confederations with the help of their followers. For this reason, we see that the name of a tribe might suddenly disappear or new names emerge.

This brings us to another very important term, namely 'nation'. This word was also used in Old Turkish to mean 'state' or 'country'. It is understood that initially this term referred to the tribes united by a leader without specifically denoting a place or country, but that later, following the conquest of vast territories, it came to encompass not only the people but also the land they inhabited *(il el)*.

Before the Mongol Empire was established, the Mongols lived in a scattered manner, organised into large and small communities. When Temüjin ascended to the throne as Genghis Khan in 1206, he organised his people in such a way that *the irgen* (people), *obog* (clan), *aymag,* and *yasun* (bone) units also took the form of military units. A well-known individual from the same clan was appointed as *noyan* (commander) to head these specific units.

BERSERKER

BOOKS